

"The basic message is clear. Student activism is here," said J. Loyd Trump, associate secretary.

"Sixty-seven per cent of the city schools surveyed are experiencing protests. For schools in the suburbs, the number with protests is also 67 per cent. In rural areas, it drops to 53 per cent, still more than half of the respondents.

"One of the surprises of the survey was the fact that protest is almost as likely to

occur in junior high schools as in senior high schools. Among the junior high schools, 56 per cent report protest activities, as compared to 59 per cent of all senior high schools."

Trump said young people are becoming vocal on every topic from glue-sniffing to the vote for 18-year-olds. He said it was hard to discern a pattern because so many subjects were mentioned.

But dress and hair requirements head the list of complaints, followed by smoking

rules, cafeteria and assembly fare, censorship of student papers and scheduling of sporting events.

Forty-five per cent of the schools with protests reported activism regarding the way pupils are educated. Complaints included poor teachers, curriculum content, scheduling, grades and exams.

Protests over racial relations problems were reported by 10 per cent of the schools. Three per cent of the protests involved Vietnam and 2 per cent the draft.

## SENATE—Monday, March 31, 1969

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the Vice President.

The Reverend EDWARD L. R. ELSON, D.D., Chaplain of the Senate. On the day of his first inauguration, January 20, 1953, President Dwight David Eisenhower attended a brief preinaugural church service in the National Presbyterian Church, after which he went to his rooms and wrote a prayer of his own. Several hours later, in front of this Capitol Building, when he began his inaugural address, he asked everyone to join him as he offered his own prayer. In the words of his prayer, let us pray today:

"Almighty God, as we stand here at this moment, my future associates in the executive branch of the Government join me in beseeching that Thou will make full and complete our dedication to the service of the people in this throng and their fellow citizens everywhere.

"Give us, we pray, the power to discern clearly right from wrong and allow all our words and actions to be governed thereby and by the laws of this land.

"Especially we pray that our concern shall be for all the people, regardless of station, race, or calling. May cooperation be permitted and be the mutual aim of those who, under the concept of our Constitution, hold to differing political beliefs—so that all may work for the good of our beloved country and for Thy glory. Amen."

### THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, March 27, 1969, be dispensed with.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that, when the Senate completes its business today, it stand in adjournment until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

### MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT RECEIVED DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under authority of the order of the Senate of March 27, 1969, the Secretary of the Senate on March 28, 1969, received a message in writing from the President

of the United States informing the Senate of the death of Dwight David Eisenhower, the 34th President of the United States.

### DEATH OF FORMER PRESIDENT DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER—INFORMAL PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE CHAMBER AND FUNERAL SERVICE IN THE ROTUNDA

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the transcript of the proceedings of the informal meeting of Senators in connection with the funeral ceremonies for the former President of the United States, Dwight David Eisenhower, held in the Senate Chamber yesterday, Sunday, March 30, 1969.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent also to have printed in the RECORD the eulogy delivered by the President of the United States and the benediction by the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, Chaplain of the Senate, at the memorial service on yesterday.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The transcript of the proceedings, the eulogy, and the benediction were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

### IN THE SENATE CHAMBER, SUNDAY, MARCH 30, 1969

An informal meeting of Senators, called by the majority leader, the Senator from Montana (Mr. MANSFIELD), and the minority leader, the Senator from Illinois (Mr. DIRKSEN), was held at 3:30 p.m. in connection with arrangements for the funeral ceremonies for the former President of the United States, Dwight David Eisenhower.

The meeting was called to order by the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENBER), as Presiding Officer.

### FUNERAL SERVICES

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, this is an informal meeting of the Senate, and I wish to make the following announcement on behalf of the distinguished minority leader and myself:

Funeral services for the late President at the Washington National Cathedral will be held tomorrow at 4:30 p.m.

Buses will depart under escort from First Street NE., between the Senate Office Buildings, at 3:30 p.m. and return immediately after the services. Those going in private cars are advised to enter the cathedral grounds from Woodley

Road and proceed to the north transept entrance.

Tickets for the services for Senators and wives will be delivered by the Sergeant at Arms. Members of the Senate delegation are scheduled to be seated in the cathedral at 4:15 p.m.

### ORDER OF BUSINESS

The minority leader and I have discussed schedules for the next several days. It is our thought that tomorrow ought to be devoted to eulogies by all Members of the Senate who desire to deliver them, but that on Tuesday we will have regular business.

Unanimous-consent agreements have been asked for and granted. As I recall, the Senator from Louisiana (Mr. ELLENBER) asked for 1 hour at the conclusion of morning business on Monday. That time will be taken on Tuesday. According to the secretary for the minority, Mr. Mark Trice, several Republican Senators have made similar requests for Monday, and they will be heard on Tuesday.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will there be any votes?

Mr. MANSFIELD. There will be no votes that I know of.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. HOLLAND. Will there be any objection to our having committee hearings on Tuesday? I have postponed hearings previously scheduled for tomorrow.

Mr. MANSFIELD. It would be appreciated if no hearings were held tomorrow, Monday; but from Tuesday on, hearings may be held.

### EASTER RECESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the leadership has been discussing the Easter recess, which was planned to expire on April 9. In view of the fact that the calendar is fairly clear and because of our desire not to call the Senate back when there is nothing to be done except to be in attendance, we shall join the House in seeking to adopt a resolution—which no doubt will be agreed to—which will extend the recess to the 14th of April. Senators should keep that in mind and make plans accordingly. We are doing this because the calendar, like Mother Hubbard's cupboard, is bare.

### FUNERAL SERVICES

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, we were in some doubt as to whether an official delegation from the House and Senate should attend the funeral at Abilene, Kans. At the last minute, however, it developed that it was not desired to have the formal attendance of a House dele-

gation, and therefore those concerned were not particularly happy about having a Senate delegation.

There are two reasons for that. There will be an outdoor service on the Eisenhower Library steps. Then a private service will take place in the little chapel. The chapel holds 50 persons. The service will be brief. So the idea of sending a delegation was discouraged. Therefore, there will not be a delegation from the House or the Senate. That, however, does not preclude any individual Member of the Senate who desires to do so from attending the funeral. Moreover, I am advised that Senators probably will not find any accommodations in Abilene, because military personnel from all over the country are already there.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I should think it would be most appropriate for the Senators from Kansas to go, if they desire to do so, because the funeral will take place in their State, and it is personally important to them.

Mr. PEARSON. My colleague from Kansas, Mr. DOLE, and I intend to go.

#### ADJOURNMENT OF INFORMAL MEETING

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, as previously ordered, the Senate will meet at 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

I now move that this informal meeting of Members of the Senate be adjourned. I suggest that the distinguished Senators from Kansas both meet directly behind the President pro tempore of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 13 minutes p.m.) the informal meeting of the Senate was adjourned.

The Senate proceeded in a body to the rotunda and the bier of the former President of the United States, Dwight David Eisenhower, headed by the President pro tempore of the Senate (Mr. RUSSELL); the Senators from Kansas (Mr. PEARSON and Mr. DOLE); the majority leader (Mr. MANSFIELD); and the minority leader (Mr. DIRKSEN).

#### PRESIDENT NIXON'S EULOGY TO GENERAL EISENHOWER

We gather today in mourning but also in gratitude. We mourn Dwight Eisenhower's death, but we are grateful for his life. We gather also conscious of the fact that in paying tribute to Dwight Eisenhower we celebrate greatness. When we think of his place in history, we think inevitably of those other giants of World War II. And we think of the qualities of greatness and what his were that made his unique among all.

Once, perhaps without intending to do so, he himself put his finger on it. It was 1945 shortly after V-E Day at a ceremony in London's historic Guildhall. The triumphant Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe was officially given the freedom of the city of London. In an eloquent address that day, Dwight Eisenhower said:

I come from the heart of America.

Perhaps no one sentence could better sum up what Dwight Eisenhower meant to a whole generation of Americans.

He did come from the heart of America, not only from the geographical heart but from its spiritual heart. He exempli-

fied what millions of parents hoped that their sons would be—strong and courageous and honest and compassionate. And with his own great qualities of heart, he personified the best in America. It is, I think, a special tribute to Dwight Eisenhower that despite all of his honors, despite all of his great deeds and triumphs, we find ourselves today speaking first not of his deeds but of his character.

It was the character of the man—not what he did, but what he was—that so captured the trust and faith and affection of his own people and of the people of the world. Dwight Eisenhower touched something fundamental in America, which only a man of immense force of mind and spirit could have brought so vibrantly alive. He was a product of America's soil and of its ideals, driven by a compulsion to do right and to do well. A man of deep faith who believed in God and trusted in His will. A man who truly loved his country and for whom words like "freedom" and "democracy" were not clichés. But they were living truths. I know Mrs. Eisenhower would permit me to share with you the last words he spoke to her on the day he died. He said:

I've always loved my wife, I've always loved my children, I've always loved my grandchildren and I've always loved my country.

That was Dwight Eisenhower.

#### A MAN WHO GAVE ENORMOUSLY

He was a man who gave enormously. His way of relaxing from the intense pressures of office or command was to do something else intensely, whether as a fierce competitor on the golf course or executing one of those hauntingly beautiful paintings that he did with such meticulous care.

But even more than this, he gave enormously of himself to people.

People loved Dwight Eisenhower. But the other side of this coin was that he loved people. He had the great leader's capacity to bring out the best in people. He had the great humanist's capacity to inspire people, to cheer them, to give them lift. I remember, for example, just a few months ago when I asked all of the members of the Cabinet to go out and call on him, each of them returned with wonder and admiration and said, "You know, I went out there to cheer him up and instead I found he cheered me up."

His great love of people was rooted in his faith. He had a deep faith in the goodness of God and in the essential goodness of man as a creature of God. This feeling toward people had another side.

In the political world, strong passions are the norm. And all too often these turn toward personal vindictiveness. People often disagreed with Dwight Eisenhower but almost nobody ever hated him. And this I think was because he himself was a man who did not know how to hate. Oh, he could be aroused by a cause. But he could not hate a person. He could disagree strongly, even passionately, but never personally. When people disagreed with him, he never thought of them as enemies. He simply thought, "Well, they don't agree with me." I remember time after time when critics of

one sort or another were misrepresenting him or reviling him, he would sit back in his chair with that wonderful half-smile and half-frown, he would say, "I'm puzzled by those fellows." And he was genuinely puzzled by frenzy and by hate and because he was inescapable of it himself, he could never understand it in others.

The last time I saw him, that was what he talked about. He was puzzled by the hatred he had seen in our times. And he said the thing the world needs most today is understanding, an ability to see the other person's point of view. And not to hate him because he disagrees. That was Dwight Eisenhower.

And yet, of course he was more than all that. He had a side more evident to those of us who worked with him than to the rest of the world. He was a strong man, he was shrewd, he was decisive. Time and again, I have seen him make decisions that probably made the difference between war and peace for America and the world. That was always when he was at his best. No matter how heated the arguments were, he was always then the coolest man in the room.

Dwight Eisenhower was that rarest of men, an authentic hero. Wars bring the names of many men into the headlines and of those some few become national or even international heroes. But as the years then pass, their fame goes down. But not so with Dwight Eisenhower. As the years passed, his stature grew. Commander of the mightiest expeditionary force ever assembled, receiver of the surrender of the German armies of World War II, president of Columbia University, supreme commander of NATO, 34th President of the United States, the honors and offices were there in abundance, every trust that the American people had it in their power to bestow he was given.

And yet he always retained a saving humility. His was the humility not of fear but of confidence. He walked with the great of the world and he knew that the great was human. His was the humility of man before God and before the truth. His was the humility of a man too proud to be arrogant.

The pursuit of peace was uppermost of his mind when he ran for the Presidency and it was uppermost in his conduct of that office. And it is a tribute to his skill and determination that not since the 1930's has the Nation enjoyed so long a period of peace, both at home and abroad, as the one that began in 1953 and continued through his Presidency. As commander of the mightiest allied force ever assembled, he was the right man at the right place at the right time. And as President, once again he was the right man at the right place at the right time. He restored calm to a divided Nation. He gave Americans a new measure of self-respect. He invested his office with dignity and respect and trust. He made Americans proud of their President, proud of their country, proud of themselves.

And if we in America were proud of Dwight Eisenhower, it was partly because he made us proud of America. He came from the heart of America and he gave expression of the heart of America



and he touched the hearts of the world. Many leaders are known and respected outside their own country. Very few are loved outside their own country. Dwight Eisenhower was one of those few.

#### CAPTURED DEEPEST FEELINGS

He was probably loved by more people in more parts of the world than any President America has ever had. He captured the deepest feelings of free men everywhere. The principles he believed in, the ideals he stood for, these were bigger than his own country. Perhaps he himself put it best again in that Guildhall speech in 1945. He said then:

Kinship among nations is not determined in such measurements as proximity, size and age. Rather, we should turn to those inner things, call them what you will, I mean those intangibles that are the treasures that free men possess. To preserve his freedom of worship, his equality before the law, his liberty to speak and act as he sees fit, subject only to provisions that he not trespass upon similar rights of others, a Londoner will fight—and so will a citizen of Abilene. When we consider these things, then the valley of the Thames draws closer to the farms of Kansas and the plains of Texas.

Some men are considered great because they lead great armies, or they lead powerful nations. For 8 years now Dwight Eisenhower has neither commanded an army nor led a nation. And yet he remained to his final days the world's most admired and respected man, truly the first citizen of the world. As we marvel at this, it leads us once again to ponder the mysteries of greatness. Dwight Eisenhower's greatness derived not from his office but from his character, from a unique moral force that transcended national boundaries even as his own deep concern for humanity transcended national boundaries.

#### HIS LIFE REMINDS US

His life reminds us that there is a moral force in this world more powerful than the might of arms or the wealth of nations. This man who led the most powerful armies that the world has ever seen; this man who led the most powerful nation in the world; this essentially good, and gentle, and kind man; that moral force was his greatness. For a quarter of a century to the very end of his life Dwight Eisenhower exercised a moral authority without parallel in America and in the world. And America and the world are better because of it.

And so today we render our final salute. It is a fond salute to a man we love and cherish. It is a grateful salute to a man whose whole extraordinary life was consecrated to service. It is a profoundly respectful salute to a man larger than life, who by any standards was one of the giants of our times. Each of us here will have a special memory of Dwight Eisenhower. I can see him now standing erect, straight, proud, and tall 16 years ago as he took the oath of office as the 34th President of the United States of America.

We salute Dwight David Eisenhower standing there in our memory—first in war, first in peace, and wherever freedom is cherished, first in the hearts of his fellow men.

#### BENEDICTION

The Reverend EDWARD L. R. ELSON, Chaplain of the U.S. Senate. Unto God's most gracious care and protection, we commit you.

The Lord bless you and keep you.

The Lord make His face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you, the Lord lift up His countenance upon you and give you peace, now and evermore.

And now may the God of peace who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus Christ, that great Shepherd of the sheep, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work, to do His will, working in you that which is well pleasing in His sight, through Jesus Christ our Lord to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

(This marks the end of the proceedings, of Sunday, March 30, 1969.)

#### DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER— IN MEMORIAM

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

#### S. RES. 174

*Resolved*, That the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate is hereby authorized and directed to purchase a floral wreath to be placed by the catafalque bearing the remains of former President of the United States and General of the Army of the United States, Dwight David Eisenhower, while lying in state in the rotunda of the Capitol of the United States, the expenses of which shall be paid from the contingent fund of the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the resolution (S. 174) was considered and unanimously agreed to.

#### THE MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair lays before the Senate the message from the President of the United States on the death of Dwight David Eisenhower which will be read and laid on the table.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

*To the Congress of the United States:*

It is my sad duty to inform you officially of the death of Dwight David Eisenhower, the thirty-fourth President of the United States.

We have lost a great leader, a great friend and a great man. I know there are many members of the Congress who had the privilege of serving under his military leadership, and who later, during his eight years, as President, shared with him in the building of a better America. He had a profound respect for the traditions, the institutions and the instruments of our nation. He leaves to the Congress and to all Americans the spirit of patriotism and statesmanship beyond party which marked his entire career. As we grieve at his death, we all will recall that spirit, which can guide

and sustain us in our tasks ahead. He has been an inspiration to us all, and ours is a better government because he walked among us.

RICHARD NIXON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, March 28, 1969.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Bartlett, one of its reading clerks, communicated to the Senate the intelligence of the death of General of the Army Dwight David Eisenhower, beloved former President of the United States of America. The message, ordered to be laid on the table, is as follows:

#### H. RES. 351

*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives had learned with profound regret and sorrow of the death of General of the Army Dwight David Eisenhower, beloved former President of the United States of America.

*Resolved*, That in recognition of the many virtues, public and private, of the illustrious soldier and statesman, and as a mark of respect to one who has held such eminent public stations, the Speaker shall appoint a committee of the House to join with such Members of the Senate as may be designated, to attend the funeral services of the former President.

*Resolved*, That the House tenders its deep sympathy to the members of the family of the former President in their sad bereavement.

*Resolved*, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of these resolutions, and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy of the same to the family of the deceased.

*Resolved*, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the former President, this House do now adjourn.

#### A RESOLUTION

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, on behalf of myself and the distinguished junior Senator from Kansas (Mr. DOLE), I send to the desk Senate Resolution 175 and ask unanimous consent for its immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

#### S. RES. 175

*Resolved*, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Dwight David Eisenhower, a former President of the United States and General of the Army of the United States.

*Resolved*, That as a token of honor to his illustrious statesmanship, his leadership in national and world affairs, his distinguished public service to his nation, and as a mark of respect to one who has held such eminent public station in life, the Senate hereby expresses its deep sensibility of the loss the nation has sustained by his death, and its sympathy with the family in their bereavement.

*Resolved*, That the two Senators from Kansas be appointed by the President of the Senate to attend the funeral of the deceased, to be held at Abilene, Kansas.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Sen-

ate transmit these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

*Resolved*, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the resolution.

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, when the inevitable and expected word came, I believe that all of us thought of the life rather than the death of Dwight David Eisenhower.

As a soldier, as a President, and as a citizen, he constantly occupied a great place. Solomon said, "The place showeth the man." And the great places that Eisenhower held, by offer of a free people, did indeed show the man. It revealed that he understood that the high ground of command was useless unless it represented the power to do good. The places he held persuaded him that progress was essential and that good thoughts are no more than good dreams unless action follows.

As a soldier, he believed in peace.

As a President, he gave confidence and stability and a calmness to our people to the end that our acts were brighter and our institutions stronger. Somehow, Eisenhower, befuddled by the world of politics, found strength and truth that the career practitioners of government never learn nor understand.

And now, in his last years as a citizen, he served as an example of what is great in our people and good in our time. One example we might find of greatest comfort is that he was proof once again that in a free society difficult events and hard circumstances will produce the right man at the right time.

Abraham Lincoln once said:

If I went West, I think I would go to Kansas.

Ike now goes west to Kansas, from whence he came, and to the rewards that God assures all mankind.

#### THE PEACEMAKER

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, today the world mourns Dwight David Eisenhower, and while there is a sense of profound loss, there is not despair. After a full life of service, his memory is unquestionably forever secure in the affections of his fellow men everywhere. He was truly a leader of men and of nations in war and in peace.

His dreams as a boy in Abilene, Kans., could never have envisioned the heights he was to scale in his lifetime. From a family of humble origins in the heartland of America, General Eisenhower rose to command successfully the largest military force ever assembled.

The honesty and sincerity so characteristic of this man throughout his life can be traced to the spiritual heritage of his ancestors and strong guidance from his mother. His broad grin and good humor that reflected these qualities made him a popular idol and were part of his magic. Wherever seen throughout the world, people reacted to the special qualities exuded by this man. Winston Churchill understood these qualities and

once commented that Ike "was a great commander, who not only can lead an army, but can stir men's hearts."

The contributions made by General Eisenhower are legend. His success in time of war marked him as a great leader of men. Thereafter his unparalleled success in politics underscored the respect and confidence he enjoyed in America.

It is only natural that those of us from Kansas have always exhibited special pride in General Eisenhower, for as President Nixon so eloquently stated yesterday, General Eisenhower "did come from the heart of America—the geographical and spiritual heart."

General Eisenhower once said:

I come from the people, the ordinary people.

Kansas are proud to be termed ordinary people and especially proud and honored that the people from whence he came were Kansas people.

His great triumphs and deeds were always marked by the extra dimensions of his personality, his character, and his humanity.

On behalf of all Kansans, I proudly salute General Eisenhower as we pause to commemorate his greatness.

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a list of 23 accomplishments which former President Eisenhower thought were most significant in his term, and also a prayer for a friend which President Eisenhower read at Morningside Heights, N.Y., on the morning of his election day which I had prepared for him the night before.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### A PRAYER FOR A FRIEND

(By HUGH SCOTT)

Dear God, in all things Thy will be done. If it please Thee that Thou shalt give to us the victory, help him to judge that which is surely good, to turn aside from all unworthiness.

Help him to share and to hold that faith shown bright in the eyes of the little children along the many places of his going.

Help him to follow after the ways that lead to peace, that by Thy grace the sounds of battle may be stilled, our sons returned to field or marketplace.

Help him, by high example, to bring our people together in friendly amity and tolerant accord that each may, in his own fashion, freely enjoy the fruits of a peaceful, happy land.

Help him, above all, O Lord, to be himself. Amen.

(Prepared on election eve in November 1952 and read by General Eisenhower on the morning of election day while standing by the fireside mantel in his home in Morningside Heights in New York City.)

[From the Philadelphia Inquirer, Mar. 31, 1969]

#### EISENHOWER LISTED 23 TOP ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN 8 YEARS AS PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON, March 30.—In a heretofore unpublicized letter, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower listed the end of the Korean War, the first civil rights law in 80 years and 21 other events as principal accomplishments of his Administration.

And he wrote critically of those who take department and words rather than achievements as the measure of people in responsible positions.

The letter was written Oct. 18, 1966, from Eisenhower's Gettysburg, Pa., farm to James C. Hagerty, press secretary during the Eisenhower presidency.

Hagerty read it Sunday on television during coverage of memorial ceremonies for Gen. Eisenhower, who died Friday. Hagerty is an ABC executive.

In the letter, Eisenhower said: "A few days ago when asked for a list of accomplishments of the Republican Administration I dashed these off from the 'top of my head' along with a few comments."

The list:

Statehood of Alaska and Hawaii.

Building of St. Lawrence Seaway.

End of Korean War; thereafter no American killed in combat.

Largest reduction of taxes to that time.

First civil rights law in 80 years.

Prevention of Communist efforts to dominate Iran, Guatemala, Lebanon, Taiwan, South Vietnam.

Reorganization of the Defense Department.

Initiation, and great progress in, most ambitious road program by any nation in all history.

Slowing up and practical elimination of inflation.

Initiation of space program with successful orbit in less than three years, starting from scratch.

Initiating a strong ballistic missile program.

Conceiving and building the Polaris program, with ships operating at sea within a single administration.

Starting federal Medical Care for the aged (Kerr-Mills).

Desegregation in Washington, D.C., and Armed Forces even without laws.

Fighting for responsible fiscal and financial policies throughout eight years.

Extension of OASI (Social Security) coverage to over 10 million persons.

Intelligent application of federal aid to education (Defense Education Bill).

Preservation, for the first time in American history, of adequate military establishment after cessation of war.

Using federal power to enforce orders of a federal court in Arkansas, with no loss of life (Little Rock school crisis).

Good will journeys to more than score of nations in Europe, Asia, Africa, South Africa and in the Pacific.

Establishment of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

Initiation of plan for social progress in Latin America after obtaining necessary authorization from Congress for \$500 million—later called Alliance for Progress.

Atoms for Peace proposal.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Senators may have 21 days to include in the RECORD their remarks on the death of Dwight D. Eisenhower, and that remarks at the desk prepared by Senators who are absent be printed in the RECORD as if delivered.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ALLEN in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, to all that is mortal comes the day of dissolution. What comfort there is in the fact that to the moment when the shadow of death hovered over him, he was lucid, peaceful, and ready. What counts now is the lesson of his life.

We refer to Washington as the Father of our Country. Eisenhower was a father to the country. He came at a time when concern and ferment were everywhere. He came when an uneasy Nation needed



him. In his touch was that magic balm to dissipate fear, to restore confidence, and to set the Nation on the high road again.

What words or what phrase best describes his impact on the people? I would have to say from my friendship with him that it was the "wholesome touch." Perhaps there are times when a Nation needs brilliance in diplomacy, skill in administration, in-depth background on legislative needs. But there are also times when a Nation needs an abiding father with the wholesome approach of a national leader, and this is precisely what he brought when it was needed.

Years ago, a Senator said to me:

If there were no third-term limit, Eisenhower could be elected and reelected as long as he lived, because people believe in him.

To that I replied:

And because he believes in people.

Prior to World War II, he might have been considered just another among many officers in the U.S. Army. But there was a difference. He did his homework and he did it well. And when the time came to find a grand captain for the vast and serious task which confronted the world, he was ready. The military hierarchy, whose task it was to find an outstanding planner and tactician, made no mistake.

First, he became the commander in chief of the U.S. forces in Europe. Later he became commander in chief of the Allied forces in Africa. Later he became supreme commander of the Allied Expeditionary Forces.

It was all done with so little personal publicity. It was done without propaganda. It was not glory but victory that he sought.

How comparatively little we heard about his rescue of Africa from British disaster. How little we heard about his healing touch in dissipating the fear and gloom in Britain after the tragic retreat to Dunkirk. Only when he mounted the grand assault from the beaches of Normandy did we hear much of him. Eleven months later the enemy surrendered.

I was privileged to be present at the Thanksgiving service in Rheims, France. It was the day after victory. I saw him there. But I also saw something else—humble people, kneeling in church, expressing their gratitude for victory and their appreciation for his service and leadership.

It was not so strange that a grateful people in this land should turn to him in time of peace for guidance and leadership. They felt that one who could meet the challenge of Hitler could also meet the challenges and complexities of the postwar period. So from supreme commander he became President and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States. It was not so much some vast, undisclosed, administrative talent which endeared him to the people, but the rightness of his outlook, his humane views, his compassionate heart, and his dedication to the cause of peace.

In his day, many things were contrived to serve the cause of continuing

peace. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization came into being. The U.S. Information Agency was created. The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization was ratified. An International Finance Corporation was created. An International Atomic Energy Agency was approved. A U.S. Development Loan Fund was established. A mutual security pact with Japan was consummated. There were many others—all of them designed to serve the cause of peace.

As this effort to serve the cause of peace and understanding continued, he was always mindful of the inescapable fact that to give effective leadership to the free world we ourselves must always be strong and secure. There were many things to attest that fact.

The first nuclear submarine was approved. The U.S. Air Force Academy was established. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration was created. The Defense Reorganization Act came into being. The National Defense Education Act was consummated. These and others were designed to maintain a military posture which would command respect.

But even as he sought to serve the cause of peace and security, he was equally mindful of the needs of the Nation at home. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare was established, the better to coordinate the services of the Federal Government in this field. Social security benefits were broadened. The research and assistance program on air pollution was enacted. The minimum wage increase was approved. The Interstate Highway Act came into being. The basic Civil Rights Act—the first in more than 80 years—was consummated. There were so many others, including medical care for the aged, small business investment, poultry products inspection, library service, water facilities, the disposal of surplus agricultural commodities, return to the States of their rights to submerged lands, the Korean GI bill of rights, and the Great Plains program.

This—all this—is a monument to the universality of mind and heart and spirit of one who in our time achieved greatness without losing his humility, who was loyally served because he was esteemed, and who found a place deep in the throbbing hearts of Americans and the world because they loved him.

#### A TRIBUTE FROM MEXICO

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a telegram received from the Honorable Luis M. Farias, President, Gran Commission of the Congress of the United Mexican States.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GRAN COMMISSION OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED MEXICAN STATES

Mexico City, Mexico, March 29, 1969.

Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, Majority Leader, U.S. Senate, Capitol Hill, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MIKE: Once more I must address you in mourning. A great American has died leaving a feeling of emptiness. Courageous in war, firm in his handling of public affairs, full of warmth in personal relations, Dwight D.

Eisenhower left many friends in all corners of the world. To my country he always showed his fondness. Please accept my condolences.

HON. LUIS M. FARIAS,  
President.

DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, we were a nation at war; Dwight David Eisenhower, general, did much to end it.

We were of an Atlantic community on the verge of a second great war; Dwight David Eisenhower, Supreme Commander, NATO, did much to prevent it.

We were a people torn by political dissension and ideological confusion; Dwight D. Eisenhower, President, did much to calm it.

We were of a world divided by ideology into hostile camps; Dwight D. Eisenhower, statesman, threw across the chasm the lines of human contact.

This man entered into the service of his country as a young lieutenant of the armies; he left its service as President of the United States. Until his death, his counsel remained at the call of his successors; it was sought, in turn, by President Kennedy, President Johnson, and President Nixon.

Why is it that the trust which he had from friends in his earliest years enlarged into a trust of countless millions in this country and throughout the world? Was it because Dwight D. Eisenhower was a friendly man, warm with the strengths and weaknesses of his humanity? Was it because he was a wise man with a folk wisdom of rural America, enriched by an ever-widening experience in the affairs of the Nation and the world? Was it because he was a dependable man, with a determined but dogmatic-free dedication to his duties, his country, and the ideals of freedom?

It was for all these reasons and more that Dwight D. Eisenhower was trusted. He was trusted, in the end, because he was the personification of a trusted America. He incarnated America's revulsion with the Nazi-racism of his era and America's compassion for all those who suffered under its ruthless political-militarism. He expressed America's simple hope for a world of peace and order. His smile spoke vividly of America's friendship for all peoples.

The era which he personified is gone; Dwight D. Eisenhower is gone. Yet, they are not gone. They are tied together—the man and his times. Together, they are woven into the Nation's continuing effort to give full meaning to the Constitution's promise for all citizens. Together, they are forever a part of the world's search for a peaceful order of life for all peoples.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1890–1969, boy from Abilene, soldier, general, President, and before all else, decent American.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower whom I knew well before he had achieved the rank of general and long before he sought the Presidency. I met him when he was G-5 at the Pentagon in 1941, when I first came to Washington and became a civilian aide to the Chief of the Chemical Warfare Service.

I had occasion to see the general in that service before Pearl Harbor and then had occasion to serve under him

when he was in command in the European Theater both in the United Kingdom and in Algiers, North Africa.

After the war, I had the privilege, I think, of being among the first to suggest that he should seek the Presidency in 1948. I then joined with 18 or 19 other Members of the House, at the end of 1951, in urging him to stand for the Presidency as the nominee of the Republican Party. Then, of course, I had the great privilege of working for his election in 1952 and in running with him in 1956 when I first sought election to the Senate from New York.

Over the years I have seen a great deal of General Eisenhower. I saw him, of course, while he was President. Thereafter, as he gradually withdrew from activities, I saw him again in Palm Springs, Calif., and at Gettysburg, Pa.

Dwight D. Eisenhower was one of America's really genuine heroes in the eyes of its people. As so many have said—and as President Nixon said so beautifully yesterday—he was a man of tremendous warmth and sentiment, a very personable man, one with a great sense of humor, deep feeling, and passionate conviction. He could get very angry, but anger never controlled his actions. He could be the warmest, the dearest, the most special human being on earth. Just to see him with Mamie in his later years would make anyone understand that.

I heard stories from a wide range of individuals—from the generals who served under him, like Al Gruenther, and the dressmakers who served Mamie, like those in New York—which proved that to them he was, uniformly, the greatest human being.

Our Nation and the world have lost a great leader in war and a great champion of peace. For Dwight D. Eisenhower was that rare military captain who genuinely renounced the very calling which put him among the historic greats.

Dwight David Eisenhower was one of the greatest friends the people of the world ever had. A commanding personality, he inspired trust and confidence through his warmth, compassion, and simple lack of pretension. These unique qualities of leadership enabled him to bring together the clashing interests of many nations into the greatest wartime alliance in Western civilization. He, as much as any man in history, represented the aspirations of free people the world over to defeat tyranny and maintain peace through the collective strength of the free.

Mr. President, the evaluations of history are always interesting, especially for one, like myself, who has lived with a man—as so many others have—like Dwight D. Eisenhower. I had the rather interesting opportunity to try that out. The New York Times' Sunday magazine, some years ago, published an interesting and informative piece evaluating Presidents, and where they stood in the hierarchy of greatness in the eyes of their countrymen. They did not rate President Eisenhower very high. They put others ahead of him.

I protested that. The general got a great kick out of my protest. The New York Times printed my letter in which I

stated that I thought he was a great President. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that that letter be inserted in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.  
(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, greatness consists not only of great achievements—and I think it is only fair to say that Dwight Eisenhower's greatest achievement was in leading the forces of victory in World War II—but also lies in the good sense and the wit, even the brilliance, not to do some things, to keep the Nation from doing them.

I think that General Eisenhower could just as easily have gotten into the Vietnam trap as his successors, but he did not. I think that it was just as hard to make peace in Korea as it will prove to be in Vietnam; but he managed to carry it off. It took a very long time to do so. It posed great difficulties.

Dwight D. Eisenhower was the first President of my party since 1932 after 20 years out of power. It would have been possible for President Eisenhower to pursue a negative course. The party had been in opposition for a very long time, under a conservative, perhaps an isolationist influence. He did not pursue that course. On the contrary.

Although I had many differences with him, especially in the field of civil rights and economics, he brought the Republican Party into the mainstream of modern American political thought. Even in such areas as health, it is too often forgotten that President Eisenhower's administration produced the first medical care plan which had really seriously been put before Congress. It was defeated in the other body, where I was serving at that time; but, nonetheless, President Eisenhower's administration produced it. And so with a whole host of other developments. The Republican tradition on civil rights was extended by the first breakthrough on civil rights legislation since Reconstruction days, desegregation in the District of Columbia, and the will to use Federal troops in order to sustain Federal safeguards for the individual American.

But above all, President Eisenhower made his greatest contribution in foreign policy, confirming and extending America's role as a world power concerned with the development of free societies everywhere, but ever cautious to avoid precipitating a conflict in such troubled areas as Berlin and Vietnam. As historian Henry Steele Commager has written:

History will accord Eisenhower a major part of the credit for the generosity and maturity with which the United States accepted and discharged her obligations during the Fifties; it will accord him credit for preventing the Republican Party—and perhaps the country—from going down the dusty road to a sterile isolationism at a crucial moment in history.

Thus, Mr. President, I rise to join the leadership and my colleagues in paying tribute to a great, a warm, and a happy American.

Interestingly enough, because of his

temperament, his tremendous optimism, and his unflagging will to live, I think that he will be an inspiration to our youth, in spite of their changing and rather restless character. Those of us who remember him as the immensely popular wartime commander and peacetime Chief Executive will always think of him as a great champion of peace. He knew war well but renounced it. We all know of his "open skies" proposal and his goals in disarmament and arms control, and we hope that they will guide our own actions today.

For Mrs. Javits and myself I extend our warmest sympathies to Mamie Eisenhower, whom we both know, and to John and his children, whom the President loved so much. The comfort of that family is in the fact that Dwight Eisenhower was a man who kept the light of faith in America's traditions and institutions more brightly and inspiringly lit than any other man in modern history. He will always remain a beautiful, inspiring, warm figure for that reason, as well as a most pleasant memory in my heart and the hearts of a whole host of Americans who, like myself, had the privilege of warm personal contact with him.

#### EXHIBIT 1

#### EISENHOWER GREAT

To the Editor:

With reference to your article by Arthur M. Schlesinger, "Our Presidents: A Rating by 75 Historians" (July 29), I have no desire to quarrel with such an eminent group but I found their evaluation of Dwight D. Eisenhower as an "average" President extraordinary.

Perhaps Professor Schlesinger did, too, for he found it necessary to at least offer a defense for their surprising evaluation: " \* \* \* Eisenhower, the most recent, and consequently, the hardest of the Presidents to evaluate. \* \* \* "

I believe that as history is evaluated in the perspective of time even this same group of historians would come to agree that President Eisenhower deserves the label of "great" for his achievements in the cause of peace (Korea, United Nations, Middle East, etc.); for his impact on the course of the Republican Party (decisively putting it on the road in favor of a reasonable Government role in the country's welfare and preventing a resurgence of isolationism); and for giving the nation an unparalleled sense of moral dedication and unity when it was most needed.

JACOB K. JAVITS,  
U.S. Senate.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER: A GOOD MAN

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, Dwight David Eisenhower was a good man. A military strategist, a statesman, leader of his political party, a humanitarian, an educator—all of these accomplishments marked his fruitful life. But ask the average citizen of the world how he would describe Dwight David Eisenhower in a few words and chances are he would simply say: "He was a good man."

How many leaders of men would qualify for such a description? He achieved great power without ever really grasping for it. He was disappointed when friends disagreed with him but he never personalized opposition. His temper flared on occasion, but his aim was only to assure excellence.

The "man from Abilene" probably was



liked by a broader cross section of Americans than any other public figure of his times and this in fact served as the basis of his wide appeal. It was his inner spiritual force that caused his outward radiation of goodness and charm and gained him acceptance at home and abroad as a man of profound good will. He always preferred to conciliate opposing points of view rather than to demand strict obedience to his orders. And his manifest sincerity disarmed even those who opposed him.

As a friend of both generals and captains of industry, he left as his legacy a warning of the dangers inherent in the military-industrial complex. As a military man, he desired above all else and worked without cessation for one goal—a lasting peace in his time.

In fact, the choice of every means, the foundation of every decision made by Dwight Eisenhower during his long service to our country, has been a judgment whether the cause of peace would thereby be served. Several years ago, looking back on his career, Dwight Eisenhower said that he regarded the greatest achievement in which he had participated to have been the defeat of Nazi Germany only 11 months after the Normandy invasion and an 8-year Presidency without war. Typically, he felt his greatest disappointment was our inability to bring about a lasting accord with the Soviet Union, for he had hoped the years of his Presidency would bring us to a place where we could say that a just and permanent peace was in sight.

The affection for him knows no boundaries among men. His appeal is universal and his lifetime of service to his fellow man had some impact on virtually every person on the face of the globe.

Dwight David Eisenhower marched through the history of his times with other great men—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, Sir Winston Churchill, George C. Marshall, Douglas MacArthur, Charles de Gaulle, and all of the others in the world's capitals and on its battlefields. And his warmth as a man, let alone his military and diplomatic skills, was the equal of any of his contemporaries and superior to most.

Let us not forget on this day what Dwight Eisenhower said to us at the end of his 8 years in the White House:

To all of the peoples of the world I once more give expression to America's prayerful and continuing aspiration. We pray that peoples of all faiths, all races, all nations may have their great human needs satisfied; that those now denied opportunity shall come to enjoy it to the full; that all who yearn for freedom may experience its spiritual blessings; that all who are insensitive to the needs of others will learn charity; that the scourges of poverty, disease, and ignorance will be made to disappear from the earth; and that, in the goodness of time, all peoples will come to live together in a peace guaranteed by the binding force of mutual respect and love.

Today, leaders of the world have come to Washington to pay tribute to our 34th President. We are grateful for their display of affection and high regard for this truly great man. But the eulogy that would have meant most to him, however, would not come from such great figures, but from that citizen of the world whose

simple but profound tribute today would be: "Dwight David Eisenhower was a good man."

Just before he died, Dwight Eisenhower said that he had always loved his wife, his children, his grandchildren, and his country.

I should like to express the deepest sorrow to Mamie Eisenhower, who had stood by his side for so many years, and who, in recent months, had borne the greatest part of the burden of the Nation and the world as the general's health failed. Her accomplishments, her dignity, and her greatness in what she had contributed to him through his lifetime should never be underestimated.

A very special relationship also existed between Dwight Eisenhower and his brother Milton. Often, during the course of his Presidency, he told me that Milton Eisenhower should have really been President. That showed the respect he had for his brother, to whom he turned many times for guidance and judgment.

Though he had a great respect for all the members of his family, there was a very special affection between Dwight Eisenhower and his brother Milton. I think every Member of this body would recognize the wonderful relationship those two men had.

So I extend particularly to my friend Milton Eisenhower my deep sorrow, but also a sense of gratitude in knowing how much he had been able to contribute to his brother.

On this day, when we join with his family in mourning their loss, we can say that his family, his friends, and his country will always love Dwight Eisenhower.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I join Senators in paying tribute to Dwight David Eisenhower. I first met General Eisenhower during the maneuvers in the Carolinas in the days before we became involved in the Second World War. Then I visited his headquarters in Belgium during the war. I visited him in Paris when he was in command of the newly established NATO forces. And, of course, I knew him here at home.

Dwight D. Eisenhower was an unusual person. To my way of thinking, he is one of the really great men of America. He had unusually great achievements in the military service, both as commanding officer of the Allied forces during the great crusade in Europe—a successful crusade, a crusade that was a victory not only for our country but for many of the countries that had been overrun and for many of the countries that had little hope of ever attaining freedom—and as Chief of Staff of the Army, after his assignment was over in the expeditions in Europe.

Then he became commander of the first NATO forces in Europe; and I think to him must go a great deal of credit for welding together the forces of the different countries participating in NATO.

Finally in that connection, I saw General Montgomery, on television, make a short statement in which he paid tribute to General Eisenhower. In spite of the differences that they sometimes had and the difficulties that they encountered in working together, he paid high tribute to

General Eisenhower for the masterly job that he did in welding together the forces of the various countries in the Allied effort during World War II.

I was impressed by a statement that I heard made on TV last night when the representative of the Tunisian Government came to the microphones at Dulles Airport. He said that Tunis and all Tunisians were grateful to President Eisenhower because he had brought freedom to their country; and he said that, as a matter of fact, every freedom-loving person in the world owed a debt of gratitude to Dwight D. Eisenhower, because he had opened up so many countries that had little hope prior thereto.

President Eisenhower, after completing his service as head of the NATO forces, became President of the United States. I have said, in answer to questions put to me with reference to the 1952 campaign, that I felt that President Eisenhower was destined almost from the time he was nominated to be elected President, and that I believed it was because of the great, warm place that he had in the hearts of Americans, particularly the parents of American boys whom he had commanded in the crusade in Europe.

President Nixon, yesterday, in paying his eulogy to President Eisenhower, referred to something that was first said of President Washington—and, you know, when we think of the two, there are many similarities that can be drawn. He said that Dwight D. Eisenhower occupied the unusual place of being first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of the freedom-loving people all over the world for whom he had done so much.

I think that was a very fitting statement regarding President Eisenhower. I join with those who say that he was a man of great kindness, gentleness, and firmness in his convictions. He was a man of big heart, whom the American people came to love and whom, with hearts full of gratitude, they will always remember.

Mr. WILLIAMS of Delaware. Mr. President, I join my fellow Senators in paying my respects to General Eisenhower and to the members of his family.

Volumes have been and will continue to be written about the achievements of this great American, Dwight David Eisenhower, but if it were all to be summed up in just a few words it would be to say: "General Eisenhower was a good man, a man of integrity, a man dedicated to the cause of peace, and one who took great pride in serving his country and his fellow man."

With his passing, free men everywhere have lost a good friend, but we can take comfort in the knowledge that our country and the world are better places in which to live as the result of his life.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, it is a very solemn occasion we observe today, as the Nation prepares to bury one of the outstanding citizens of this century, General of the Army Dwight David Eisenhower. It is fitting that every one of us pay tribute to him; for in thinking back over his remarkable life and reflecting upon his personal qualities, there is much we can learn as well as admire.

I believe that the words of a distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, Henry Cabot Lodge, Sr., spoken about Theodore Roosevelt, can be said as well of Dwight Eisenhower:

He was a great patriot, a great man; above all a great American. His country was the ruling mastering passion of his life from the beginning even unto the end.

General Eisenhower first became known to the American people when he was named Supreme Allied Commander in the European Theater in World War II. For those any younger than myself it is almost impossible to recreate the tension and the drama of those days. World War II was perhaps the last time when the unity of this Nation was complete and the private interests of our citizens subordinate to an overriding national cause. Many of us lost brothers, sons, and fathers in that war. But no one had any doubt about why these sacrifices had to be made. As the ships set out across the English Channel, bearing with them the hopes of free civilization; and as the President of the United States raised a simple prayer for their success to Almighty God, the Nation knew that the responsibility for developing and coordinating and seeing through what still stands as the most massive and difficult military operation in the history of the world, was in the hands of one man—Dwight Eisenhower.

What he did in those years made him a hero to all Americans and a liberator to many of the nations of the world. This gave him the overriding respect and popularity that allowed him to be a force for peace and world leadership.

General Eisenhower was a career soldier. He embodied the best qualities of the military as those qualities are expressed in the motto of the West Point he loved so much—in the words "duty, honor, country."

It is said that Americans neglect their military in times of peace and rush for its protection in time of danger. Watching the change from what the Armed Forces were in 1939 to what they became in 1942, General Eisenhower could certainly see merit in that view. But he believed—and he made it very clear in his actions and statements as President—that the Armed Forces, just as the executive and legislative branches of the Government, are servants of the people and that their preparations and activities must stay within the confines of public policy, even if that policy later turns out to be wrong. This is their duty to their country and it is what distinguishes a nation directed by its people from a people directed by their state.

As President of the United States for 8 years, General Eisenhower made significant accomplishments. He was the American President who negotiated an end to a war without insisting on capitulation. He made the first approaches toward a reduction of tension between the United States and the Soviet Union through his atoms-for-peace proposal. He created the first program for economic aid to Latin America. On major foreign policy decisions, like the reaction to the French defeat in Indochina and the military action in Suez, he exercised

a wholesome restraint on our use of power.

Here at home he was the first President forced to use the power of the Federal Government to enforce the law of the land on equal opportunity in education, and he was instrumental in bringing about the acceptance by all political parties of the most basic domestic reforms accomplished since 1933. But in many ways his major accomplishment was that he helped to unify the United States and helped to calm it after a period of intense domestic conflict and bitterness. He led us through a useful period of tranquillity in which we prepared for new assaults upon our country's problems.

Many look back upon the Eisenhower years as a period of calm that will never again be with us. Perhaps, as Abraham Lincoln said:

The dogmas of the quiet past are not adequate for the stormy present.

But certainly the qualities of personality that Dwight Eisenhower had—which had so much to do with his success—his religious faith, his humility and his candor, his ability to bring men together—certainly these examples can help us in the stormy present. And as Ralph Waldo Emerson said of Abraham Lincoln:

His heart was as great as the world, there was no room in it to hold the memory of the wrongs.

And of course, Dwight Eisenhower's great personal courage in the face of declining health in the last few years stands as a great testimony to all his personal qualities—all of his courage.

It is in reflecting on these qualities, as well as on his life, that every American, on this solemn day of memory and prayer, can draw strength and hope from the life and example of Dwight David Eisenhower for the future.

Mr. BAKER. Mr. President, today I sadly join the millions of mourners throughout the world who are paying tribute to the memory of Dwight D. Eisenhower.

From out of the volumes that have been written and from the new comments that are sure to be made, one single thread in the life of Dwight Eisenhower seems to me to have endured beyond all the other outstanding characteristics of this great man: That was his continuing contribution to world peace.

Many men have sought this elusive goal, but few have added so much to this massive effort that has consumed the talents and energies of so many over the ages.

I hope these remarks are free of vanity or are not too highly personalized—they are meant to be neither—when I point out that my generation is uniquely a product of the Eisenhower age.

I entered the Navy in World War II at the age of 17, in the midst of General Eisenhower's preparations for ultimate victory in Europe. I returned from the service to enter law school in the midst of the Korean war. Then followed his election to the Presidency and the end of the Korean hostilities.

My beginning years as a practicing lawyer were during the stability of the Eisenhower administration, and the focus of much of my effort and attention since coming to the U.S. Senate has been an effort to implement the Eisenhower-Strauss plan for a series of nuclear desalting plants to reach the root causes of conflict in the strife-torn Middle East.

I recall with pride and satisfaction my conversations with the former President Eisenhower, at his office at Gettysburg, about the philosophy and form of his grand proposal for the Middle East and his counsel and advice on measures calculated to bring about its implementation.

My store of experience and knowledge is richer, as is the country's and the world's, for the talents and the time of Dwight David Eisenhower.

Mr. President, I extend my heartfelt sympathy and condolences to Mrs. Eisenhower and her family on my own behalf, on behalf of my wife, and on behalf of my mother, who served in Congress and was a friend of the Eisenhower family.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, Dwight David Eisenhower's great strength as a leader was that the people had confidence in him.

He was trusted by the people of the United States as few men ever have been.

Virginia lays claim to a special relationship to Dwight Eisenhower. His mother, Ida Stover, was born and reared in Augusta County, about 10 miles south of Harrisonburg. It is interesting to note in passing that Abraham Lincoln's father was born about 10 miles north of Harrisonburg, in Rockingham County.

Ida Stover was born 107 years ago in a small white frame farm house near Fort Defiance, Augusta County. She lived the first 21 years of her life in that area. It was after the death of her parents that she went West and was one of the first women admitted to Lane College, LeCompton, Kans. It was there that she met David Eisenhower, the general's father.

General Eisenhower was proud of his mother having been a Virginian. Addressing the Virginia Legislature in 1946, he opened his brief remarks with these words:

It is one of the high honors of my life to return to a joint meeting of the Legislature of the State in which my mother was born and reared.

Virginians responded with affection to Dwight David Eisenhower. He was enormously popular in our State.

In the summer of 1948, the Democratic State convention called on General Eisenhower to seek the Democratic nomination for President—and the State convention pledged to the general its delegates' support at the Democratic National Convention to be held in Philadelphia.

Four years later, when Dwight Eisenhower was the presidential nominee of the Republican Party, he carried Virginia handily, and 4 years later increased his majority.

While he became the supreme commander of the greatest army in the history of the world and later President of the United States, the most powerful position in the world, he remained to



the end the same approachable, lovable "Ike."

Freeman Gosden, a native of Richmond, Va., who reached fame and fortune in California and was a neighbor and constant companion to General Eisenhower in Palm Springs, Calif., during recent years, gave me, last night, this interesting insight into the late President.

The former President, said Mr. Gosden, liked to shop in the supermarkets. Frequently he would gather his golfing companions, Mr. Gosden, Mr. George Allen, and sometimes Mr. Randolph Scott—who has many family connections in Jefferson County, W. Va.—and would go to the local market to buy groceries. He would pick out a cart, push it himself, make his purchases and instruct the butcher how to cut the beef. When he would be recognized and spoken to, he always would take off his hat with a bow to the lady speaking to him.

Yes; Dwight David Eisenhower walked with kings, but he never lost the common touch.

On Saturday, March 29, 1969, the Richmond Times-Dispatch published an editorial captioned: "Dwight David Eisenhower: A Greatly Beloved Leader." It was written by the longtime editor of the Times-Dispatch, now retired, Virginia Dabney.

It is so beautifully written, and it captures so well the spirit of our late President, that I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER: A GREATLY BELOVED LEADER

The world's most beloved man is dead. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER was not the most brilliant man of his time or the most erudite or the most widely read. But he had a personality which inspired affection throughout the globe. Wherever he went in the years after World War II, cries of "Ike" resounded on every hand, and signs bearing the words "We Like Ike" were widely displayed.

It was the affection and trust which he inspired, no less than the admiration, which made him an unbeatable Republican candidate for president in 1952 and 1956. The Democrats had been in power for 20 years, and they seemed destined to stay there for 20 more when GENERAL EISENHOWER was persuaded to become a candidate.

His two terms gave the country a period of stability and orderly progress, free from wars and riots, which were in happy contrast to the hectic era in which we find ourselves today. So-called intellectuals were never happier than when ridiculing PRESIDENT EISENHOWER—for his sometimes confused sentences at press conferences, his fondness for golf, and so on. But he gave the United States a welcome interlude from hopelessly unbalanced budgets and colossal and continuing deficit spending, from grafting "five percenters" and other chiselers, from perpetual catering to this or that bloc of voters.

#### HE CRUSHED HITLER

GENERAL EISENHOWER's career in World War II made him one of the great military figures in American annals. His role as supreme commander of Allied forces in Europe imposed upon him the duty of deciding when to invade HITLER's "Festung Europa," in the face of German mines, bombs, shells, and machine guns.

Storms along the English Channel in early June, 1944, made the invasion potentially disastrous. But GENERAL EISENHOWER got all the expert advice he could from every quarter, and then he alone decided, despite the obvious risks, to send the vast Allied armada through the channel fogs against the heavily fortified coast of Normandy on the early morning of June 6. The rest, the saying goes, is history.

EISENHOWER was a world figure after the war, and both political parties wanted him to run for the presidency. After much pressure from numerous directions, he finally consented—primarily as a public duty. He had taken practically no part in politics up to that time. He decided to join the Republican party and to let his name be placed in nomination at the Republican National Convention of 1952. Once he got the nomination, he was unbeatable for two terms.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER was a "good" man, in the best sense of the word. His face bespoke honesty and integrity, and he looked you in the eye when he talked to you. His flashing smile was of well-nigh incredible dimensions, and lit up a room like a giant electric bulb.

He was never stuffy, never impressed with his own importance. He was considerate of the feelings of others, no matter how humble they might be. The latter trait is illustrated in an episode which occurred during "Ike's" presidency, at a dinner in the grand ballroom of the Statler Hotel in Washington.

#### A GENEROUS GESTURE

As the waiters were removing the dishes, one ill-fated waiter dropped an entire tray within a few feet of Mr. EISENHOWER at the speaker's table. The tray hit the floor with a noise that sounded like an exploding bomb. Secret Service men leaped from behind potted palms, and the poor waiter stood there amid the debris, looking as though the end of the world had come.

"Ike" reached into his pocket, took out a couple of bills, and pressed them into the waiter's hand. Nobody saw him do it except the lady who was seated next him. It was a generous and characteristic gesture.

The jibes at PRESIDENT EISENHOWER because he played golf fairly frequently were entirely uncalled for. Other Presidents have been similarly careful of their health, and they had to be, in order not to break themselves down.

In a conversation in 1947, when he was Army Chief of Staff, he revealed that whereas the bursitis in his left shoulder was much better, he had developed an arthritic condition in both forearms. The doctors had told him, he said, that if he didn't use them actively, the arms would atrophy.

So he said he had just taken golfing lessons in Florida from "Joe" KIRKWOOD, the professional, and added: "As soon as the weather opens up it'll be nine holes a day, or at least twice a week."

He did not seem alarmed over the prospect that his forearms might atrophy, and as matters turned out, they never did, presumably because he followed the advice of his doctors and played golf regularly from that time on.

The facts as to his arthritic forearms have never been published before, as far as we are aware. Why he did not make them known, and thereby avoid much unfair criticism is a mystery. We reveal them now in justice to GENERAL EISENHOWER.

Statistics showed that he was not absent from his office any more than PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY, for example, if as much. Yet he was sneered at regularly and over the years because of his fondness for golf.

#### HE KNEW U.S. HISTORY

As for the charge that Mr. EISENHOWER seldom read anything, he was more widely read than he got credit for. One expects a president of the United States to be well acquainted with American history, and espe-

cially with the administrations of predecessors in office. But when "Ike" was Army Chief of Staff, soon after World War II, with no thought of becoming president, he was nevertheless well versed in the history of the men who had occupied the White House. This was obvious to persons who talked with him informally at the time.

Virginia lays claim to a special relationship to DWIGHT EISENHOWER, since his mother, Ida Stover, was born and grew up in Augusta County. Ida Stover's birth on May 1, 1862, took place in a small white frame farmhouse at the bottom of a hill near a creek in the area of Fort Defiance, 10 miles from Staunton. She lived there or nearby for the first 21 years of her life.

Ida Stover went West after the death of her parents, and was one of the first women admitted to Lane College, Leocompton, Kan. It was there that she met David Eisenhower, to whom she was later married. They moved to Texas, and seven sons were born to them. Dwight David was the most eminent, but each of the six who lived to manhood made his mark.

Many Virginians were not aware that DWIGHT EISENHOWER's mother was a Virginian until 1946, when the General came to Richmond as aide to Winston Churchill, who addressed the Virginia General Assembly. Mr. Churchill made the principal address, but "Ike" almost stole the show with a brief talk made in response to repeated cries from the audience that he say something.

#### HIS VIRGINIA MOTHER

"Ladies and gentlemen," said GENERAL EISENHOWER in opening his impromptu remarks, "It is one of the high honors of my life to return to a joint meeting of the legislature of the state in which my mother was born and reared." A few other equally simple and sincere sentences followed. The talk made as deep an impression as the more formal address of Mr. Churchill.

DWIGHT EISENHOWER's early days in Denison, Tex., and Abilene, Kan., where his mother and father strove to rear and educate their six sons, influenced his future life for the better. The parents had difficulty making ends meet. The father was a railroad mechanic, a creamery worker, etc. The boys had to find jobs, help with the family chores, and so on. They came up the hard way, but they made it.

DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER became not only supreme commander of Allied forces in Europe in World War II, but president of the United States. None of these honors "went to his head" or caused him to "lose the common touch." He remained to the end, the same approachable, lovable "Ike," the man whom millions looked up to, and who left an indelible mark on American and world history.

V.D.

#### WE LOVED "IKE"

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, the Nation has lost a great and dearly beloved citizen—one whose death seems to have taken a piece from each of our hearts. History will record that the people of the United States—of all political faiths—respected and trusted him more than any President of recent memory. He and his good wife and family maintained dignity, wholesomeness, and understanding in the White House and wherever they went.

Perhaps the most memorable day in my life occurred on May 13, 1965, when I spent an entire day with this great man. We flew out from Gettysburg together to Grinnell, Iowa, where he spent the day at Grinnell College, visiting the classrooms and answering questions, and capping it with a fine address to

the entire student body that evening. He made similar campus visits on several occasions in his later years, because he had a deep affection for young people and wished to do what he could to help them face the responsibilities of good citizenship which would soon be theirs.

Our country is the better for what will be known as the Eisenhower years—years which have now ended but which should inspire all of us to be better citizens.

It will be written that we not only "liked Ike, but that we loved him."

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, teeming and uncounted millions of people, not only in the United States, but also throughout the world, have a sense of genuine loss in the passing of the 34th President of the United States, Dwight David Eisenhower.

As I have listened to the tributes being paid to President Eisenhower in the Senate today, I have found wholehearted agreement with the eloquent references made to his greatness in war, his ennobling characteristics as a domestic leader, and his qualities of character.

By what strange circumstances do men rise to possess great leadership, great trust, and great affection in the hearts of their countrymen? One cannot prescribe a set formula. Life is not that simple. Political fortunes are not so achieved. It is, rather, by a strange and fortuitous combination of qualities, circumstances, and character.

President Eisenhower possessed qualities which endeared him to people. It was said eloquently by the senior Senator from Illinois (Mr. DIRKSEN) today that Dwight David Eisenhower was a father to the country. I think he did have a father image to the country. But he also had a big brother image. He also had an image of companionship and friendship. If it would not be termed disrespectful, I would say he had the image of a jolly good fellow. He was a forthright man—nothing devious, deceptive, or dissembling about Mr. Eisenhower. People instinctively trusted him and identified themselves with the admirable attributes he exemplified.

Possibly, historians will not characterize him as an activist President, but I think it should be noted that he brought to the White House a conception of staff performance and a willingness and an ability to select good men, to vest confidence in those men, and to delegate to those men genuine responsibility. Perhaps more than any other President to his time, he institutionalized the office of the Presidency. Throughout his term he had keen disappointments but also notable successes. It would take a book adequately to treat with this man.

Permit me to close, Mr. President, by saying that in my opinion he was one of the most beloved Americans of all time.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I should like to take this opportunity to join with my colleagues in expressing my great grief at the passing of our beloved friend, great general, and great President.

In periods of deep grief, such as we are experiencing today, we mortals are often inclined to compensate for our sorrow by allowing our thoughts to revert to happier times.

Like many of my fellow Americans, I, too, have found much needed consolation in the personal memories I associate with our former President's halcyon days.

In particular, I have found a measure of solace in reminiscing about the particularly cheerful periods when I had the privilege of serving him during the inaugural ceremonies for the newly elected President in 1952, and again for the re-elected President 4 years later—the Lincoln Birthday celebrations, the closed-circuit dinners, the informal gatherings at the White House. Those were the happier days, and I shall always cherish them as being among the most enjoyable moments of my life.

I recall a luncheon at Palm Springs, where the host at the luncheon was General Eisenhower. Also present was the son of a former President, Herbert Hoover, Jr.

A group of 10 friends met for lunch to decide whether I should become a candidate for the Senate or not.

One of my friends at the luncheon pointed out, "You have never run for office before. You'll have no chance."

General Eisenhower, pointing to Herbert Hoover, Jr., said, "His father had never run for elective office, and I had never run for elective office. We both got elected President of the United States. Therefore, that should be no objection. Now, what's the next order of business?"

I am pleased to say that it was on that day I decided to become a candidate.

I mention these things today because my recollections, I think, are typical of the reactions of people from San Diego to Bangor, and from Seattle to Miami, all of whom felt a rare and inspiring closeness with this understanding and compassionate man.

For each of us, General Eisenhower was something special—something deeply and intensely personal.

In my case, as I have said, I like to think of those happier inaugural days, especially in 1952.

At the same time, I cannot help remember that those were also days in which we were engaged in a long, bloody war in Korea, and we were weary of the long casualty lists and the apparent failure of our efforts to obtain a timely, just, honorable peace.

These days we sometimes hear people say, "Beware of the judgment of military men." I would remind them that this was a man whose life was dedicated to the military, and who brought us more peace than any other man during my lifetime.

On the domestic scene, there was the restless uncertainty that always accompanies wartime stresses and tensions.

If ever in our history there was a need for a man of heroic principles and inflexible strength, it was in those bleak days of late 1952 and early 1953; and we, as a nation, turned to the man we had just elected as our President to provide us with the leadership and example we so sorely needed.

History has long since written the formal record of his foreign and domestic successes.

But somehow the factual accounts of

the archives seem today to be strangely out of place, cold and insufficient.

For example, we remember mainly in this hour how "I like Ike" was transformed from a political slogan into a personal expression of the national spirit—a spirit based on trust, hope, and integrity.

We remember, too, the Eisenhower years of peace, but within our souls we recognize that the legacy of that era is not only a devotion to the cause of peace, but also, and just as important, a national dedication to the principle that international tranquillity must be accompanied by honor and justice.

In addition, we remember the important domestic progress of the Eisenhower years. But once again the official transcripts fail to tell the entire story; for what we have today, which is even more important than the laws and precedents themselves, is a renewed conviction that social advances must be based on the dignity of the individual rather than the enhancement of the State.

Yes, the most enduring record of General Eisenhower's greatness has been indelibly inscribed, not only in our tomes and records, but also in our hearts and souls and minds, for all time.

For each of us, it is a most personal heritage.

For the Nation as a whole, it is a priceless gift, for he reminded us as no other man has ever done that the State is only as strong as the individuals who compose it.

This was a great, beloved, courageous, kind man.

May he enjoy that special peace reserved for the soldier who has fought the gallant fight and returned to his rightful home.

I extend my sincere sympathy to Mrs. Eisenhower and the entire family in this period of national grief. This is a sad day for our Nation, but it should be a day of rejoicing, because once again we have sent a man to history in whom we can all take great pride.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, as I recall Dwight David Eisenhower, I can best recall special qualities of him, as a man, which I believe were basic to his greatness as a world leader.

One of these was his ability to inspire others to have confidence in him and to respect him as a man of integrity and a true disciple of peace, both in his own time and in future time, for the people of his Nation and of the world. Another very great quality of his—his inner strength—made it possible for him to marshal his inner resources to meet the demands upon his thoughts and his physical self, so often heavily placed upon him.

As supreme commander of the Allied Expeditionary Force in World War II, as president of Columbia University, and ultimately as Chief Executive of the United States, Dwight David Eisenhower believed in peace throughout the world; and in his leadership in the interests of peace, he became, as he has been often titled, "truly a citizen of the world."

Although a professional soldier, an expert in the direction of armies, he by his nature was first and foremost a humani-



tarian devoted to the well-being of his fellow man.

This attitude, so basic to his character, was demonstrated in March 1945, just before American Forces crossed the Rhine.

On the particular occasion about which the anecdote has been told and retold, General Eisenhower noted a young soldier who appeared worried and despondent. He approached him and asked, "How are you feeling, son?"

"General," came back the answer, "I'm awful nervous. I was wounded 2 months ago and just got back from the hospital yesterday. I don't feel so good," said the soldier.

"Well," said Eisenhower, "You and I are a good pair, because I am nervous, too. Maybe if we just walk along together to the river we will be good for each other."

This humility, this common bond with those who served under him, was to endear him to millions, and was to become one of the most widely recognized attributes of this very great soldier and dedicated public servant.

Yet, although Dwight Eisenhower had great compassion for others, his own character allowed him no self-pity. When he was only 16, this self-discipline was to serve him well. Blood poisoning developed in his left leg and, as it spread, doctors urged amputation, saying that it was his leg or his life. But this future commander of armies, this future great leader of men and nations, from the depth of his own inborn discipline, refused to have the operation and through his determination and faith was able to walk out of his room on two healthy legs just 3 weeks later.

This same inner strength was exhibited time and again during World War II, when his decisions were responsible for the success of campaigns against the Germans.

It was exhibited when President Eisenhower, in pursuit of peace, flew to Paris for the North Atlantic Council meeting after having suffered a stroke only days before. Although this determined gesture could very probably have brought on another siege of illness, Eisenhower ignored the possible consequences, shouldered his burdens, and applied decisive and imaginative leadership to the critical affairs of state at that period.

Yet Eisenhower was never known, apparently, to be overly imbued with his personal importance. It is said that he approached his tasks as president of Columbia University in a vein of humility and some anxiety as to his ability to do a job so very different from that to which he had devoted his long military career. Having accepted the appointment because of his conviction that he could do a great service for the youth of America through the advancement of education, he nonetheless felt concerned as to his ability to do justice to his new tasks.

At one time, it is reported that this early anxiety which he had felt was mentioned to him after a reception at one of Columbia's affiliated colleges. A professor confided:

You know, General, when we heard you were coming here, some of the faculty were downright scared of you.

General Eisenhower is reported to have replied:

The faculty would have been reassured to know I was scared to death of them.

It is a matter of history now that General Eisenhower, unsure though he might have been about his new position, nonetheless turned in a good performance. He has been credited with being a superb administrator who supported orderly academic freedom and campus democracy.

I have on occasions during recent months thought that had General Eisenhower been president of Columbia University during these times of student unrest, current on our Nation's campuses and universities, he would have set a tone of self-discipline and responsible leadership which might well have provided a model for similar behavior in our Nation's academic councils.

Eisenhower is gone. Myriad legends about him will be told and retold. The Eisenhower legend will last as long as our country does—a country which is better and nobler for his having lived, and served, and died as an American.

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower's passing has saddened the hearts of all Americans. As a general, he occupied one of the most important military assignments in the history of the Nation, that of commander of all Allied European forces in World War II. His superb handling of this difficult assignment made him a hero to people everywhere.

As President of the United States, he had a way about him that commanded the respect and admiration of people in every walk of life. No President was more loved and respected than he. He will go down in history as one of our greatest Presidents.

It was when he was President that I came to know Dwight Eisenhower best. As one of the Republican leadership of the Senate, I met with him quite often on important national and international matters. It was always a great inspiration to meet with him.

Dwight Eisenhower had a way about him that in the eyes of most people he could do no wrong. There was a reason for this. Besides having a wonderful personality, he was a very honest and courageous man who had natural good judgment and good sense. It was these qualities that people all over the world recognized and appreciated.

Because of the great respect and esteem the American people had for him, he was probably the only President in our history who could have been elected on either the Republican or the Democratic ticket.

It was a great tribute to him that his popularity, and the esteem in which people everywhere held him, continued long after he left public office and until his death.

He will be remembered through history as a beloved, great leader of a great nation. This is a sad day for all of us. I extend my deepest sympathy to Mrs.

Eisenhower and all of his wonderful family.

(At this point, Mr. PEARSON assumed the chair.)

Mrs. SMITH. Mr. President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, the foremost military leader of his time, had many great attributes. But his greatest achievement was peace. He was a five-star general; yet he accomplished more peace in his 8 years as President than did his civilian predecessors and successors at the White House.

He was a man of peace. He was a leader of peace. He was an achiever of peace. What greater achievement can any mortal being have given to his fellow human beings.

It was on this note of peace that my association with him first started. He asked me in August 1952, to write an article for the Woman's Home Companion on why he should be elected President. I did, and in it stressed his desire and capability for peace.

He made other requests of me. I granted every request he made. The only one I now regret and feel that I made a mistake on was when he called me from Camp David and asked me to vote for the Dixon-Yates contract and said that my vote would mean a great deal to him personally.

I am sure that I cast many votes that displeased him. It has been widely reported that two of my votes greatly disappointed and displeased him. But he never expressed his displeasure to me and did not contact me either before or after those two votes.

Such was a measure of this man of peace who refrained from giving vent to his feelings concerning those who disappointed him and those who attacked him.

This morning on the NBC-TV "Today" program, William Monroe observed that while George Washington could not tell a lie about cutting down the cherry tree, Dwight Eisenhower would not tell a lie about the U-2 spy plane flying over Russia.

His honesty in this crisis brought down on his head the sharpest political attacks ever made on him. Some persons apparently felt that at long last he had made a serious political error that could be greatly politically exploited.

There were those who charged Dwight D. Eisenhower with being senile, lazy, and having disgraced the United States in this matter; and there were those who publicized such charges and represented them as documentation of the thinking of the people at the grassroots.

Dwight D. Eisenhower never defended himself against such slurs. He never replied in kind.

Yet there were those critics who charged that he was unduly sensitive to criticism—that he was hypersensitive. If he was, he never displayed such hypersensitivity.

But he was sensitive—and I am proud that he was—because that very sensitivity made him the thoughtful, responsive, and warm human being that he was.

Last September and October I was a

fellow patient in ward 8 at the Walter Reed Army Medical Center with him. Through the attending doctors and nurses we kept informed on each other's respective progress and exchanged messages of cheer and encouragement.

On his birthday I gave him some of the new super solid state golf balls to symbolize my confidence that he would recover enough to return to his favorite pastime. He gave me some of his birthday cake.

During these 2 months it was my privilege to get to know Mrs. Eisenhower better. Very thoughtfully she would stop by my room to cheer me. We had some most enjoyable conversations, and in getting to know her better I could certainly have a greater appreciation of the saying that behind every great man there is a woman.

I came to know Mamie Eisenhower for the great woman that she is. I saw her, day by day, maintain her constant and dedicated vigil. I saw her maintain an undaunted courage and cheerfulness that lifted the spirit of the entire ward 8. I know that her spirit and her kindness helped to accelerate my own mending and recovery.

Dwight D. Eisenhower's will to live was a medical marvel—almost a medical miracle. But I am sure that one reason his brave, but weakening, heart wondrously rallied so many times was that his devoted wife at his bedside gave so much of her own heart to him to help carry the necessary strength of heart for recovery.

Yes, Dwight D. Eisenhower was a man of peace. He planned and fought for peace. He lived for peace. And he died in peace—in the peace of the mind that he had not only fought the good fight for peace but that few mortals had ever achieved as much peace for as many people as he did.

Mr. AIKEN. Mr. President, the great things a President does are repeated a thousand times over after his death but I have always felt that it was the everyday things of life and the attention paid to smaller matters which characterize a man.

President Eisenhower's deeds which affected the Nation and the world will be repeated for generations to come and his praises will be sung by all people and all nations, so I would like to recite a few small events which I believe portrayed his character as much as the invasion of Germany, as much as the end of World War II, or the 8 years of peace and progress for which his administration is so well remembered.

It was after the war and before he became a candidate for President that I was driving along the road in northern Vermont with my radio tuned to the Canadian Broadcasting System.

General Eisenhower was making a speech, as I recall, in Toronto.

Where he made it does not matter, but what he said has remained in my mind ever since.

He said in effect that his greatest ambition in life was to put men in his line of work out of business.

After he was elected President and had been inaugurated, I wrote him a note which said in effect that I would not at-

tempt to tell him how to run the Government of the United States, but that I would be available if I could help him at any time.

I did not call at the White House very often, and then only when matters of importance required the President's attention.

At the time he took office, the agricultural attachés of our embassies abroad were used largely as guides for very important persons visiting those countries.

Some of them knew very little about agriculture and were not expected to.

Representative Hope, of Kansas, chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, and I called on the President one morning to tell him that a change should be made in this system.

He listened to us and without hesitation called the State Department and stated that from then on he wanted the agricultural attachés to have the same standing as the military attachés in foreign countries.

Since that time they have been among our most effective representatives abroad.

At another time a serious agricultural problem arose. At this time, I cannot even remember what the problem was, but I do remember well the circumstances. It was Saturday noon when I learned of it, and action had to be taken before 9 o'clock Monday morning. The Secretary of Agriculture had gone to the mountains to spend a weekend.

Ordinarily, one would not have expected to find top officials at the White House or even in Washington on Saturday afternoon.

I took a chance and called the White House. The President responded almost immediately. I told him the problem.

He said, in characteristic fashion, "I will look after it myself."

Secretary Benson was called back from his weekend vacation and the problem was solved by 8 o'clock Monday morning.

On only one occasion did I see President Eisenhower lose his poise.

At that time he literally went through the ceiling expressing his opinion of the war contractors who were currently exerting great pressure upon the Defense Department.

By his actions at that time he clearly expressed himself as believing human life to be of greater value than war contracts.

These are some of the incidents which characterize the man Dwight Eisenhower.

The pages of history will not record them, but to me they were of marked significance.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, for more than a quarter of a century, Dwight Eisenhower has been a familiar and well-loved name in American homes and in distant lands around the globe.

It is a name associated with historic events and historic achievements; with great leadership; with the skills which led us to victory in war; and with a deep-seated urge to lead mankind toward peace.

Above all, however, he was a man and a human being whose quality and character made a deep and lasting impact upon each of us.

To those of us who served in World

War II, he was more than a superlative military leader. He was a man whose warmth, simplicity, and sturdiness were reassuring, inspiring, and comforting.

To all of us, his postwar leadership in Europe, as the first commander of NATO, represented an appropriate conversion of his talent for leadership from war to his unceasing search for peace.

It was understandable and inevitable, notwithstanding the frustration of his political opposition, that he should be called to the Presidency.

And again, in the 8 years of his Presidency, it was the quality of the man which we remember most—his capacity to inspire the trust and confidence of his people.

It was because his countrymen believed him to be a good man that they entrusted him with leadership and responded to it.

And it is thus that we will remember him—a good man who loved his countrymen and who was loved by them.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, we shall long remember Dwight David Eisenhower as a soldier whose victories won the peace; as a President whose abilities brought confidence in a time of increasing fear; and as a man whose entire life was characterized by integrity, courage, and, above all, faith. We have all shared in the warmth of his personality and in the depth of his spirit. In a time of growing impersonalization, he brought to the Office of President a personal vitality and singular devotion which were a constant source of inspiration for all Americans. Just 17 years ago, General Eisenhower spoke to the Republican National Convention and the Nation in words which are a fitting tribute to his own life as well as a guideline for our future.

None of us—

He said:

has known of a time that has placed a higher premium on statesmanship—on courage, competence, and leadership—on solid commonsense, on willingness to subordinate self to the general good.

And so it was with Ike.

During his service as supreme commander of the Allied Forces during World War II, our servicemen, including myself, discovered in the general a continual source of reassurance and confidence. We placed our faith in Eisenhower—faith in his judgment, faith in his wisdom, and faith in his courage.

In the years following that war, America found itself wandering, doubting, and unsure of its future. Destiny called Dwight Eisenhower again; it called him because he was worthy of the people's faith. Our Nation knew that Eisenhower as President would bring wise, calm leadership and reassurance during that crucial decade. The accomplishments of those years are often overlooked with the rapidly increasing pace of change in our world. But let us recall that it was President Eisenhower who ended the Korean war; promoted desegregation in our Armed Forces; won passage of the first civil rights bill in 80 years; enforced the orders of the Federal courts to desegregate our school system; established the Department of Health, Education,



and Welfare; initiated efforts to encourage social progress in Latin America; and proposed the Atoms for Peace program to the U.N.

Yet the true contribution of Dwight Eisenhower is to be found not in these significant accomplishments of administration, but in his qualities of character.

The faith that the people of our land placed in President Eisenhower was matched by his faith in the people of the world. In his good will trips throughout the globe, President Eisenhower conveyed the warmth and openness of the American people to the citizens of the world community. His originating of the people-to-people programs demonstrated his belief that the bond of mankind can overcome the barriers of nation, race, and ideology.

In his farewell address to the Nation in January of 1961, President Eisenhower demonstrated wisdom and foresight which must be carefully pondered by our Nation today. As an academic leader and former President of Columbia University, it was President Eisenhower who cautioned us about the threat to academic freedom posed by the Government's growing involvement in university research. As our greatest military leader of the century, it was President Eisenhower who first warned against the alarming growth and influence of our defense industry.

But again, let us remember Dwight Eisenhower as a man of faith. The citizens of our Nation found him worthy of their faith, and he constantly demonstrated his faith in his fellowmen. But these qualities were rooted in a far more fundamental commitment, Dwight Eisenhower placed a quiet, confident, and firm faith in God. It was Eisenhower's spirit which we shall remember. His personal devotion and trust in his Creator is his greatest and most lasting quality.

Today the general lies in the Capitol as thousands pass by to pay their tribute. On January 20, 1953, Dwight Eisenhower was also at the Capitol. He rose to give his inaugural address. Before he began, he asked for the privilege of offering his own personal prayer. Let us always remember him standing there and steadfastly praying these words:

Almighty God, as we stand here at this moment my future associates in the Executive branch of Government join me in beseeching that Thou will make full and complete our dedication to the service of the people in this throng, and their fellow citizens everywhere.

Give us, we pray, the power to discern clearly right from wrong, and allow all our words and actions to be governed thereby, and by the laws of this land. Especially we pray that our concern shall be for all the people regardless of station, race or calling.

May cooperation be permitted and be the mutual aim of those who, under the concepts of our Constitution, hold to differing political faiths; so that all may work for the good of our beloved country and Thy glory. Amen.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, the Nation mourns the passing of President Dwight David Eisenhower.

Today I speak for myself as an American, as an individual citizen, and as a representative in this august body of the State of Alabama and her people.

The people loved, admired, and respected President Eisenhower. They had confidence in him. They trusted him. They felt that they knew him; that he was their friend; that he stood for all that was best for them and their country.

They felt that to him a public office was truly a public trust.

He was a man above partisanship; above sectionalism. He was a man from the people, a man of the people, a man for the people—all of the people.

Let us all profit by the example that he set, by the high road that he followed throughout life.

Of him it can truly be said—in the words of Rudyard Kipling in setting some of the attributes of a real man—he could "walk with kings, nor lose the common touch."

Americans and the free world are poorer because of his passing, but richer because of his life among us.

On behalf of the people of Alabama and of Mrs. Allen and myself, I extend heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Eisenhower and the Eisenhower family.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, General Eisenhower will long be remembered for many things. His long and distinguished career as a soldier and as a statesman leaves a legacy of noteworthy accomplishments. In my judgment, however, one quality of General Eisenhower's stood out. That quality was his ability to win the affection of people—both of those who knew him and of the public. "I like Ike" was more than a political slogan. It summed up the warmth and respect which people had for General Eisenhower and which was his greatest strength.

In political life all men aspire to a certain degree of popularity. It is, of course, a prerequisite to even limited success in service in government, but General Eisenhower's popularity was more significant and deeper than that which comes to most political figures. It characterized his distinguished military career. During World War II, I served in the First Army in Europe under General Eisenhower. There is no question that he was held in great esteem by the soldiers and that this was a tremendous asset to him. Later when I served as national president of the Reserve Officers Association, I had the privilege of having a number of conferences with President Eisenhower at the White House. He was courteous, friendly, and helpful. From his own personal experience he realized the importance of the Reserves to the Nation. During World War II, 98 percent of the Army and 85 percent of the Navy consisted of citizen soldiers. He favored the Reserve program because he knew firsthand of its importance to the Nation.

Mr. President, the popularity which General Eisenhower enjoyed was important to the Nation when he served as President. The personal qualities of General Eisenhower—his warmth, his dignity, his integrity, and the response these qualities inspired in the public—were of great importance in unifying the American people. The personal bitterness and abusive language which unfortunately have become more a part of political life

in the last few years, were largely absent during Dwight Eisenhower's tenure as President, and much of this must be due to the kind of man that President Eisenhower was. His political enemies might disagree with him but nevertheless they liked him.

Mr. President, more than any other American in the 20th century, General Eisenhower commanded the affection and respect of all the people of the United States. All of us are saddened by the passing of this brave soldier, great statesman, and renowned world figure. All through his career he was supported, fortified, and encouraged by his lovely wife, Mamie Eisenhower, who was an inspiration to him—in every activity in which he engaged. My sympathy is with Mrs. Eisenhower and the other members of the family in this time of sorrow. I know that they are comforted by the knowledge that President Eisenhower gave so much of himself to his God, his country, and his fellow man.

Mr. ALLEN. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. ALLEN in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, A GENERAL OF PEACE

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, Dwight David Eisenhower was a general at war, but a man of peace. He was a man who worked to end wars and to prevent wars.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, after World War II, sought the world to follow the Biblical injunction to beat swords into plowshares and spears into pruning-hooks. After World War II, he followed the advice of Isaiah, "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Though he admonished this, it fell to Eisenhower to lead a great army in the biggest war in the history of mankind. History records the great battles of World War II won under the leadership of Eisenhower in the crusade in Europe. People have recorded in their hearts the memory of Eisenhower, the supreme commander of Allied forces in Europe, taking time to visit the men who would do the fighting, just before the invasion forces started to France, and of his visits to them across Europe as the lines of battle advanced. It was this humanness that set him apart and above the average man. It was evident to all who knew Eisenhower as a soldier, that his quest was peace, not military victories only.

It was my privilege and honor and duty to serve under Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower in the crusade in Europe. I was a staff officer of the 97th Infantry Division in that war, serving in several different armies and corps, as we were transferred from sector to sector of the fighting front, ending up on V-E Day on the road to Pilsen, in Czechoslovakia. All

who served in the vast Allied armies in the crusade in Europe for the freedom of mankind felt the impact of the Eisenhower personality. Perhaps the greatest of all of his accomplishments was his ability to get men of different nations and languages to work harmoniously together in a common cause. As one admirer said:

Eisenhower knew how to work with people and he knew how to get people to work together.

He had the knack of tact, to hold divergent forces together and to keep them working together.

The author John Gunther visited General Eisenhower in France in 1951, when Eisenhower was head of supreme headquarters, Allied Powers in Europe. Gunther came from that meeting and wrote, not of great war plans, but of Eisenhower the man, saying:

He has been a soldier all his life, but believes in peace. He does not stand for war, but for defense against war.

Eisenhower achieved a great victory in Europe in World War II. He later went back to Europe to build forces which would preserve peace, preserve it without fighting.

As a newly elected President, Eisenhower brought about a settlement of a shooting war in Korea.

Through all of this, moments of great strain and moments of great triumph, Eisenhower remained a man of the people.

He never forgot or ignored his birthplace in Texas or his home in Kansas where he grew to manhood. It was this tie to the heartland of America which kept President Eisenhower first in the esteem of his countrymen. People instinctively liked General Eisenhower. All were touched by his ready smile.

It was this fondness which people felt for Eisenhower which has made his death such a sad, personal event for the people of this country. People admired him for his achievements, but they loved him for himself.

No man could ask for a greater tribute than the love and esteem the people of this country have for Dwight David Eisenhower.

The love of his fellow man is the tribute to Eisenhower, the man. The peace he won and preserved is the tribute to President Eisenhower, the soldier-statesman.

The Bible says, "Blessed are the peacemakers; for they shall be called the children of God." While his critics were screaming for a war with China, and accusing him of a no-win policy, Eisenhower had the judgment, the wisdom, the humaneness, the greatness to save America and the world from a long, bloody war in Asia. For this, the American people should and will love him always.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. PEARSON in the chair). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I think that all of us at this time, for reasons that run very deep, are saddened by the death of General Eisenhower. However, it seems to me that the overriding fact that comes to the minds of all of us when we think about the life of President Eisenhower is the strange and providential way in which man seems to be called by our country and by the world for leadership when he is desperately needed.

This has been true throughout the history of our country, and throughout the history of the world—else, probably mankind would not have survived as long as it has.

If ever the world needed a leader, if ever our country in its history needed a leader, it was at the time we discovered how to destroy all mankind, including ourselves.

I do not believe anyone could have come to the helm of government in the United States more profoundly qualified for leadership in the transition from what we might call the world of innocence to a world in which man's survival lay in his own hands and better fulfill the role which was demanded of him than General Eisenhower.

He was not a deeply intellectual man, and he was often derided by sophisticates as an amiable buffoon, which only goes to prove how inadequate sophisticates are in dealing with the great problems of the world and of society.

President Eisenhower had a kind of intuitive sense of what was necessary in the gravest matters that put him uniquely into a position of world leadership as well as, of course, the leadership of our country. He articulated and made it acceptable to the people of this country and, I think, of the world, too, that atomic war could no longer be tolerated, that confrontation between the great powers in the direct sense would no longer be possible, that that sort of war unthinkable.

He sensed this, and he made it stick. It is now accepted doctrine. And men have found that they can live in such a world.

We will always be blessed with the guidance which he gave us on that issue which, I think, was the greatest contribution any man could possibly have given any nation or the world.

It is for this intuitive understanding of what human respect required and his ability to make that understanding common property that I think he will go down in history.

We are lucky in our time to have found the leader that our time required.

Mr. RUSSELL. Mr. President, the death of Dwight D. Eisenhower has removed from this earthly scene a man who possessed to an unprecedented degree the love and confidence of the American people and the respect of the entire world. His services as President have been greatly underrated and with the passing time his stature will loom larger and larger among the 37 who have served in that position.

The confidence of the average citizen in Dwight Eisenhower should renew the hopes of every American for the future of our country. His faith in the patriotism and judgment of our people in the mass was probably greater than that of any President since Jefferson. He sought and held our highest political office without being a politician. His sincerity and integrity were so transparent that he did not find it necessary to come up with a new program every day in the effort to buy the good will and support of some special group.

Being human, he made mistakes and, being too trusting, he was at times betrayed by those whom he had trusted. But his great decency and honesty shone through the miasma of demagoguery and promises of "something for nothing" which mark politicians of this period and were completely comprehended by the vast majority of our people.

It was my high privilege to know President Eisenhower personally over a long span of years. I admired him as a man and was grateful for his friendship. I share the sorrow that is common to all who knew him and worked with him, and I extend my deepest sympathy to his family.

Mr. COTTON. Mr. President, my first memory of General Eisenhower was when as a member of a subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, I visited NATO headquarters in 1951. We were briefed by him over a period of days. I returned from Paris convinced that the Nation needed him as its President. I was one of the 19 Members of the House who joined in a letter asking him to return and be a candidate. After he consented, I became one of the delegates from New Hampshire pledged to his cause.

It was my privilege to serve, first in the House and then in the Senate, during those 8 years when nations that had long before learned the firmness of his purpose and felt the magic of his name remained at peace. No American boy perished under gunfire anywhere in the world.

Like President Nixon, my most vivid memory of General Eisenhower is his first inauguration. In my scrapbook, where I keep the utterances I have heard and will never forget, are the words he spoke that day:

The peace we seek signifies more than stilling the guns, easing the sorrow of war. More than an escape from death, it is a way of life. More than a haven for the weary, it is a hope for the brave.

This is the hope that beckons us onward in this century of trial. This is the work that awaits us all to be done with bravery, with charity—and with a prayer to Almighty God.

He was a great soldier, but a far greater apostle of peace.

Now he is at peace. May peace come to the country he loved and led.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, a great man moves on to immortality as Dwight David Eisenhower passes from history's living page.

From a life crowded with service for others, he will be remembered under many names—President, general, edu-



cator, author, family man, and by the universal and affectionate title of "Ike."

This seems to personify the humble and democratic heart of a man who walked with kings.

I would turn back the pages of time to December 8, 1953, for an Eisenhower date and deed I shall always remember.

On that day President Eisenhower gave an astonished General Assembly of the United Nations his proposal of "atoms for peace." He assured them that the United States would join with all interested nations—including Communist Russia—in cooperative research into the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

Out of this proposal came the International Atomic Energy Agency within whose framework we have studied and striven for effective nuclear restraints.

Dwight Eisenhower—a man of highest military stature, a man of deepest humanity—was essentially a man of peace.

A worried world sought his counsel.

His judgment will be missed.

Mr. ALLOTT. Mr. President, the last battle for a great general has ended and our Nation has suffered the loss. All of us, young and old, mourn the passing of General Eisenhower.

He stood for so much that has made America what it is today: dedication, public service, military bravery, common-sense, and devotion to God and country.

Like all men of his stature, his service to his Nation is appreciated more today than it was while he occupied the important positions of responsibility which filled his lifespan. History will appreciate Ike even more.

I knew him well, and with all who served with him in government I respected him and his principles, just as he respected the principles which made America great.

That he lived as long as he did is a final tribute to his spirit for life. Many a weaker man would have given up long ago. Ike was a fighter and he fought until the end.

While his passing was not unexpected, it nevertheless is a trial to all those who knew and loved him. Welda and I join the whole Nation in extending our deepest sympathy to his wife, Mamie, and the whole Eisenhower family.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, shortly after the passing of Dwight David Eisenhower on Friday, March 28, I issued the following statement:

Former President Dwight Eisenhower was a soldier and statesman who served our Republic in war and in peace.

Americans admired the general for his fortitude and faith.

I recall his personal and official kindness and consideration during the years I was in the Senate during his administration.

**IKE—A HERO FOR ALL TIME**

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, yesterday afternoon the President of the United States shared with the world the moving last words of Dwight Eisenhower as spoken to his wife on the day he died:

I've always loved my wife, I've always loved my children. I've always loved my grandchildren and I've always loved my country.

Less than two dozen words are contained in those brief sentences.

But what immense sweep these words have, for they tell us all that we need ever know about the man and what he has meant to this country and what the people of this country—all humanity, in fact—meant to him.

Virtually every trust of leadership that could be demanded of a man was given him.

And because of that victorious leadership in war, bringing us victory and peace, and his successfully ending yet another war in far-off Korea—virtually every honor that could be bestowed upon Dwight Eisenhower was his.

We knew him as the general who directed the greatest military operation of all time in bringing to defeat the forces of oppression and tyranny which had enveloped Europe.

We knew him as the supreme commander of NATO who brought the Western nations together again as the impenetrable shield to prevent another massive, destructive war.

We knew him as the President who brought an end to another war in Korea and then kept the peace—an era of peace longer than any this Nation has known for three decades.

But we all knew—and the world knew—Dwight Eisenhower best as "Ike."

And those last words of Dwight Eisenhower—telling of his great love—define for us more clearly than all of the books written about him, all of the articles devoted to his life, and all of the eulogies spoken of him, why "Ike" will remain in the hearts of Americans a hero for all time.

When Dr. Billy Graham learned of the death of General Eisenhower, he described the former President as the greatest American since Abraham Lincoln.

I think Dr. Graham has captured in his description exactly the sentiments felt by the citizens of this country, as well as those of free peoples everywhere, who believe Dwight Eisenhower personified the American ideal of the love of liberty which has stood continually as a beacon to the oppressed and a barrier to the oppressor.

Mr. President, those of us who have had the honor to serve in one capacity or another with Dwight Eisenhower have been privileged beyond expectation. I shall always cherish my days in the House of Representatives and in the Senate in which I had the opportunity to be a member of those committees which conferred with him during his years of military service, and during those years in which he served as our President.

Mr. President, Mrs. Mundt joins with me today in extending our sympathies to the family of Dwight Eisenhower, the great man, who, as President Nixon said, came from both the geographical and the spiritual heart of America.

Because of him, truly, we are the richer in spirit.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, when I learned that General Eisenhower had passed on, Mrs. McClellan and I promptly dispatched a wire to Mrs. Eisenhower extending to her and members of the family our deepest sympathy and prayerful expression that they would be comforted

and sustained in this time of their greatest bereavement. Some excerpts from that message of condolence can be appropriately repeated in my remarks today.

I stated to her that "General Eisenhower was a patriotic, courageous, and valiant soldier who led the mighty forces of the free world to victory over aggression and conquest" in World War II. I also said that "he was a statesman of understanding, patience, and wisdom who brought calmness and hope to a troubled world." And that "the exemplary and forceful qualities of leadership that he provided as President instilled confidence and inspired peoples and nations to exert greater and more dedicated efforts in the cause of peace and tranquility among nations."

I further emphasized that he "earned and received the respect and esteem of the American people and was admired and beloved by them to a degree unexcelled by any other great leader or President of this generation."

Mr. President, his passing is a great loss to humanity. He contributed much to the social and cultural progress of our people and steered the ship of state, when he was at the helm, in the direction of a higher civilization and a better and safer world. These sentiments I record with deepest sincerity and out of a reverent respect and esteem for him as a man, as a citizen, and as one of America's greatest leaders of our time and generation.

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, because of his long and grave illness the news of General Eisenhower's death comes as no surprise. Even so, the acute sense of loss is not lessened for the respect he had is universal.

The world has lost a great soldier and statesman, our Nation has lost a beloved leader, and all of us have lost a wise counselor and friend.

The life of General Eisenhower is a splendid example of American achievement. Perhaps only in America can a boy, born of humble, God-fearing parents, rise to such heights of leadership in war and in peace.

I shall always prize my personal contacts with him, starting with the kickoff of his 1952 presidential campaign from the capitol steps in Boise when I was Governor. On his invitation I came to Washington, D.C., to be Chairman of the International Joint Commission and to work in related problems in natural resources.

He has made a great contribution to the world he served in time of crisis, and to the country he loved with such fervor and served with utmost dedication. He will be remembered, not only for his record which speaks for itself, but for the fact that for all his work with national and world leaders, and the tremendous power he wielded over the course of history, he still kept the humility and the common touch and the sense of humor of the smalltown boy from Kansas.

"I LIKE IKE" WAS THE SENTIMENT OF A NATION

Mr. PROXMIER. Mr. President, no American in this century inspired in people all over the world the love and trust General Eisenhower inspired. He was a good and gentle man, a man of

peace and compassion, a man of monumental integrity and honesty.

Ike had a genius for unifying disparate personalities into a working and effective team. This was his great strength as commander of the largest military force in history, a force which liberated half a continent from the Nazi tyranny. It was one of his great strengths as President.

He brought to the White House a dignity and a sense of honor that elevated the Presidency in the eyes of the people.

He had nothing but scorn for those public men who engaged in demagoguery and character assassination.

Ike did not regard the Presidency as a bully pulpit. He did not believe the President should dominate the other co-equal branches of the Government in making national policy. Many disagreed with that view. But one must pay it high respect.

The man who led allied forces against the blackest example of one-man rule in modern history surely had ample reason to mistrust the concentration of political power in the hands of one individual.

President Eisenhower's warning against the influence of the military-industrial complex in his farewell address as President was never more relevant than it is today as we are about to move ahead with expensive new weapons systems.

"I like Ike" was not merely a narrow party slogan. It was, to the end, the sentiment of a nation.

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, standing in the rotunda of the Capitol yesterday as President Nixon eulogized former President Eisenhower, the thought came to me that while many men who had served our country well and with valor had gone to rest with the flag draped over their coffins, very few had so richly deserved and won that honor as had General Eisenhower. The flag means more to us because of him, and our country will forever be better through the great example he set of devotion to it and love for it.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, a great leader of the American people has passed away, and the Nation is in mourning. Our hearts go out in sympathy to his beloved widow and family.

I was privileged to serve in both the House of Representatives and the Senate during his term as President. I shall always remember his unfailing courtesy, consideration, and kindness.

Great men are able to rise to distinguished positions within a certain field or a certain career. But it is the extraordinary man who achieves comparable greatness in more than one realm. The late Gen. Dwight David Eisenhower was such a man.

General Eisenhower was a military genius of the first order. His thoughts and actions were characterized by discipline, decisiveness, and deep courage.

As President, General Eisenhower helped the American people to maintain a sense of balance and to view events in proper perspective. He fostered among us a spirit of security and hope.

Our grief at the death of General

Eisenhower is magnified by the knowledge that we shall not soon see his like again. He represented an America for which we feel nostalgia, an America where our values were clear and there was no compromising with one's duty to one's country.

Mr. DOMINICK. Mr. President, our Nation mourns the loss of a great soldier, statesman, and President. I feel the deep personal loss of a good friend with the death of former President Eisenhower. To the very last day of his life he was a symbol of strength and honor for the people of the United States and the world.

General Eisenhower was a frequent visitor to our State of Colorado and often said he considered it his second home. I first met Ike in 1951, when he was president of Columbia University. He was a guest in our Colorado home in 1954 and 1956. He was one of the major reasons that I first entered politics back in the early fifties.

Our thoughts are with Mrs. Eisenhower, who has always shown such courage during the many episodes of illness endured by the general over the past several years.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, if ever there was a man who epitomized the word "good," who possessed the quality of goodness to an infinite degree, it was Dwight David Eisenhower. He was a man of peace who proved himself unsurpassed in war. He was a man of gentleness who lived a life of high adventure. He was a gentle man who vested some of the most bestial fighters of our century. He was a simple man whose goodness, kindness, and humility helped him overcome obstacles and achieve his objectives. His services to our country as soldier and leader of armies, as president of a great university, as a man of inspiration, and as President of the United States were all of the highest order.

Most important, he was a man of truth, incapable of duplicity. Our country and our world trusted him. Finally, he was a man of wisdom and vision, whose farewell words as President, warning us of the dangers of the industrial-military complex, should be heeded by the Nation that now mourns the passing of this great and good man.

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, in the death of General Eisenhower, the world has lost one of its towering figures, one whom history will regard among the truly great.

Born and raised against a humble, midwestern background, this remarkable man led the forces of freedom to victory in a great world war and, at the end of that career, answered a further call to serve his country in its highest office. Again, he demonstrated an inspired ability to unify and to lead the Nation at a particularly critical time in its history. As we look back on the 8 years of his administration we recognize the great stability, firmness, and progress which marked that time.

Even after he had laid down the burdens of the Presidency, he continued to play a constructive and effective role as a true elder statesman, spurning petty partisan considerations and concerning him-

self only with the welfare of the country he loved and served so long and so well.

It is amazing that one generation could produce both an Eisenhower and a Churchill, two mighty and beloved leaders who will be revered as long as men prize freedom.

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, we mourn today the loss of Dwight David Eisenhower. We mourn his passing, and we remember his contributions to this world.

He was a leader—a man who led great armies to victory in the Second World War. Because he knew the horrors of war, he worked unceasingly for peace. Few men have left a more significant imprint on the 20th century.

In his lifetime, he won high office and held imposing titles—General of the Armies—president of a great university—President of the United States. But our memories of Dwight Eisenhower are not related to pomp and ceremony. We remember him as a warm, outgoing person—a man of character, integrity, and good will.

He battled in the arena of politics—and won. And he won more than the Presidency. He won the affection and respect of the American people.

Now he is gone, and we will miss him. But his words and deeds will live on in our history and influence our Nation for generations to come.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, the Nation, and indeed all of the free world, mourns the death of Dwight D. Eisenhower. His absence will be lamented not only by free men everywhere but also by those who long to be free, for Dwight Eisenhower epitomized the fight for freedom in all aspects of his life.

From a Kansas farm boy to Supreme Allied Commander in Europe to President of the United States, Dwight David Eisenhower symbolized all that is good about America. His life bounded all elements of the American ideal and wrapped them in reality.

Now we are all much poorer because he is gone.

To say that he was a great American is inadequate.

To say he was a great statesman lacks completeness.

To outline his accomplishments in war and peace as a protector of the free world ignores the foundations for domestic progress he laid here at home.

It remains for history to indelibly inscribe upon the tables of time the unique and continuing contributions made by Dwight Eisenhower, not only through his public service but by his private example of integrity, courage, and devotion to duty.

Though we grieve over his death and sorrow at his passing, our lives are enriched by the record of the life he lived in service to his fellow man, his nation, and his God.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, Dwight David Eisenhower is gone, and Americans everywhere mourn his passing.

What he did is engraved in the national consciousness: at Normandy; at Bastogne; on the Elbe; in 8 years as one of the most beloved Presidents with which the Nation has been blessed.



I would speak of Dwight Eisenhower the man, for, in many ways, what he was, was even more important than his deeds, great though they were.

He was a uniquely American product: A soldier who had seen the face of war, and who turned his country away from it. He was perhaps the most beloved man of this time, yet a man who never lost his humility.

We asked of him perhaps more than we should ask of any man. It was his decision, and his alone, that determined the life or death of hundreds of thousands of American men on that June 6 D-Day more than two decades ago. It was his decision, more than once in his 8 years in the White House, that meant the difference between peace and war.

A small incident, unknown at the time, illumines his character. On the eve of D-Day, when the greatest invasion force in man's history moved toward Omaha, Juneau, and the other beaches of Normandy, Dwight Eisenhower, in the loneliness of his command post, wrote two communiques. In the first he foretold a great victory for American arms. In the second—should that happen—he wrote of a bloody defeat, and in the communique he wrote that the defeat was his alone, that he had made the decision, that the blame was his alone.

He was, above all, a good man, in the best sense of that most overused word. We knew that he was, and we gave him our love; he gave to us his all.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I do not believe I can add anything to the tributes which have been paid to Dwight David Eisenhower. Certainly nothing can be added to the record of his life.

I can only voice my own appreciation of his life, and for having known him and having served under him in the Army of the United States in Europe in 1944 and 1945, as Ambassador of the United States to India and Nepal by his appointment, and as a Member of the U.S. Senate when he was President.

Although I am sure these following articles have been placed in the RECORD by other Senators, I feel that they, added to the magnificent eulogy by President Nixon, have expressed the admiration and the affection of the American people.

I ask unanimous consent that the editorial published by the New York Times on Sunday, March 30, and the article by Mr. Arthur Krock published by the Times on Saturday, March 29, be printed in the RECORD following my remarks.

I emphasize President Eisenhower's initiative toward ending the cold war, and toward the achievement of peace. I quote the last two paragraphs of an editorial in the New York Times of March 31, entitled "Guests at the Funeral":

The passage of time has only added importance to the beginnings toward ending the cold war that were made when Eisenhower and Khrushchev met in Geneva in 1955 and then in this country in 1959. Their meetings broke the ice of the Stalinist era and—despite the U-2 flareup in 1960—helped pave the way for the limited but important progress that has been made this decade.

The world leaders at this funeral of a soldier for peace could render him no more significant tribute than to advance the spirit of reconciliation he set in motion.

Finally, I take the liberty of using that part of the eulogy of President Nixon when he quoted the last words of President Eisenhower to Mrs. Eisenhower:

I've always loved my wife. I've always loved my children. I've always loved my grandchildren. And I've always loved my country.

To Mrs. Eisenhower, who shared his trials and triumphs and who contributed to his life, we offer our admiration and sympathy.

We shall miss him.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Mar. 30, 1969]

#### A PEACEMAKER REMEMBERED

On this day of national mourning for Dwight Eisenhower, there is everywhere a sense of loss but not of tragedy. It is a time of sorrow but not of desolation, of nostalgia but not of despair. After a full, active life of service to his nation and mankind he died rich in honors and secure in the affections of his countrymen.

In war, he had known moments such as the North African invasion and the Normandy D-Day when daring and high resolve were rewarded. In peace, he had labored with patience and insight for better international relationships and helped bring about a significant change in the cold war. As party leader and President he was no stranger to controversy. Like all men he had some failures of understanding and made some mistakes of judgment, but he left the White House after eight years still retaining the confidence of the nation.

Even in the last year of his life when pain and distress were often his unwelcome companions, he had also occasions for satisfaction—the political party of his choice restored to power, a political protégé elected to the White House, a grandson married. As with the lives of General George C. Marshall, his close military colleague, and Winston Churchill, his great wartime ally, there is about Eisenhower's life a sense of fulfillment, of missions accomplished.

He played a historic military role in a warlike age but it is as a peacemaker he will be remembered. He had a sure instinct for popular sentiment. In a television talk in 1959 with British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, President Eisenhower said, "I think that people want peace so much that one of these days governments had better get out of their way and let them have it."

Tendered a dinner in his honor by New York City in June 1945, he early defined the philosophy that guided his peace-keeping efforts: "I believe we should be strong, but we should be tolerant. We should be ready to defend our rights but we should be considerate and recognize the rights of the other man."

His tolerance, his fairmindedness, his ability to put himself in the other man's shoes and see the problem from another viewpoint won the confidence of his fellow Americans, ignited the hopes of his contemporaries and earned the respect of his adversaries. Regardless of provocation and pressure he never lost sight of his essential goal. He overruled military advisers and refused to intervene in French Indo-China in 1954. He broke with the nation's oldest allies, France and Britain, to oppose the Suez invasion of 1956. He incurred the political risks of inviting Premier Khrushchev for a tour of this country in 1959 and did not lose faith in eventual Soviet-American accommodation despite the Premier's tirades at the unsuccessful Paris summit conference in 1960. His farewell message to the American people upon leaving the White House the following year was a warning against the power of the military-industrial complex.

"He is great who is what he is from nature, and who never reminds us of others," Emerson wrote in his Essay on Great Men. Eisenhower met this definition. As a famous general, he was as unlike Napoleon or Wellington in his personal style as any man could be, and just as dissimilar to his American predecessors of past wars—Washington, Jackson, Grant, Pershing. He was unique.

Yet, from another vantage point, Eisenhower could, like Lincoln, say that he was a common man but God must like common people because he makes so many of them. "Ike" looked like everybody's grandfather. In his simple tastes, plain dress and easy manner, he could have been an obscure country doctor or another Midwestern businessman. Of his generation, he was the typical American writ large, and so countless millions whom he had never met could think of him as a neighbor and a friend. Born in Texas, reared in Kansas, educated in New York, on duty at Army posts across the country, and retiring at last to a farm in Pennsylvania, Dwight Eisenhower belonged to all Americans. They honor him today, neighbor, friend, peacemaker.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 29, 1969]

#### TOPICS: "AN UNCOMPLICATED MAN"

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON, March 28.—"To mold, to balance and to integrate" the forces contending, designedly or inherently, to undermine "the principles of our democratic system"—this was the lifetime mission of Dwight D. Eisenhower as he saw and practiced it. In many conversations with him before, during and after his Presidency, his sense of this mission invariably emerged. So it was wholly in character that his fixed dedication dominated Eisenhower's Farewell Presidential Address to the American people on the night of Jan. 17, 1961.

#### A BASIC DOCUMENT

To schoolboys the best-known examples of state papers in this particular field are Washington's Farewell Address and the peroration of Lincoln's Second Inaugural. Indeed, they are the only ones with which schoolboys are familiar. But as time recedes into eternity from the day of Eisenhower's death on March 28, 1969, the extraordinary combination in his Farewell stress on his lifetime principle, and foresight of the threat to which it was being increasingly exposed, will establish this document also as fundamental to the basic education of Americans.

He cited two forces in particular as comprising the threat to "the very structure of our society": A military-industrial complex and a "scientific-technological elite," both born of another new threat. And this he described as "a hostile ideology—global in scope, atheistic in character, ruthless in purpose and insidious in method." In other words, the Bolshevik design to impose Communism by force throughout the world.

#### CARICATURE REFUTED

If there were room here for additional extracts, they could only serve to support the point I am seeking to make. It is, that not only does Eisenhower's Farewell reflect and maintain the purpose which guided him as President, as soldier and as a private person: the Address refutes the caricature drawn of Eisenhower by various motivated critics as a chief magistrate who let his subordinates do the governing because he had no original ideas, no passion for the advancement of humanity and a distaste for mental concentration on the problems confronting the President as steward of the nation.

But the refutation of this appraisal has much more material to produce than the Eisenhower speech of Jan. 17, 1961. The records of the crisis meetings of the National Security Council, 1953-61, are now under seal at Camp Ritchie, Maryland. When these

papers are released for publication they will, according to a common judgment expressed to me by participants in the discussions, reveal that the President:

Made all the final decisions; firmly and fully enforced them; that his reliance on the staff system stopped at the deciding line; that his grasp of complex issues was profound; and that his expositions of his own views were both forceful and clear.

#### SOURCE OF POPULARITY

But, since a large part of the public incessantly read the contrary in the press, and heard it on the air and in the political arena, what were the sources of a popular sentiment that, the political professionals generally agreed, would have elected Eisenhower to a third term if he had been legally eligible—and willing?

He has been a victorious American commander of the largest armies ever assembled. But victory in war, even a war that preserved the Union, did not save Grant from the political obloquy in which his Presidency ended. And Washington left the Presidency amid a rising tide of malice and slander.

#### GOOD AND UNSELFISH

The sources of Eisenhower's unbroken hold on the American people were probably that few could see, hear or talk with him and not come away with the conviction that here was a good man, an uncomplicated man, unselfish in his patriotism—the kind of man who has risen from simple beginnings to the possession of great power without impairment of integrity.

This certainly was my feeling in conversations, intimate and otherwise, in Paris, in the Pentagon, at the White House and thereafter. And, aside from the foresight, perception and passion for the traditional concept of "the democratic system" in the Farewell Address, Eisenhower was the kind of President the nation wanted in his time, a time that may come again.

(NOTE.—Through all the years of the Eisenhower Presidency, Arthur Krock wrote the "In The Nation" column in The Times.)

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, death has taken from us Dwight David Eisenhower who dominated the middle of the 20th century as a soldier, statesman, and humanitarian.

We all are diminished by the loss.

My deepest sympathies go to Mrs. Eisenhower and their wonderful family.

People throughout the world had great faith and confidence in General and President Eisenhower. And he, in turn, had great faith in the goodness of man and in the simple virtues.

In 1952, before his election, he put some of the tenets of his faith down on paper, and I believe they have great relevance for us here today. He said:

If each of us in his own mind would dwell upon the simple virtues—integrity, courage, self-confidence, and unshakeable belief in the Bible—would not some of our problems tend to simplify themselves?

Would not we, after having done our best with them be content to leave the rest with the Almighty? I think it is possible that a contemplation, a study, a belief in those simple virtues would help us mightily.

General Eisenhower's great faith in this country and its people was reciprocated fully by the people.

My personal faith in this great man springs from the dark days of World War II when I served under him in Europe. I recall we had absolute confidence in his command leadership. But he was more than a military leader. He was beloved by the men in the ranks, to

whom his infectious grin and willingness to consider their problems symbolized a great moral leader.

It was my privilege to get to know the general better in later years. In 1952 and 1956 I campaigned for him as I was running for Governor of Delaware. His visits to our State were memorable occasions to me.

He frequently held briefing sessions for the Governors in those days, and it was my privilege as Governor of the First State to be seated at his side. He was always well prepared at those sessions and brisk in matters of business. But he also liked to talk about his golf game and tell of the pleasure he found in doing his own cooking.

President Eisenhower's years of preeminence served his country well. He answered every call—to the military, to education, to his Nation's highest office—but, above all, to his fellow man.

It may well be said, as Louisa May Alcott wrote:

For such as he there is no death;  
His life the eternal life commands;  
Above man's aims his nature rose.  
The wisdom of a just content  
Made one small spot a continent,  
And tuned to poetry Life's prose.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, it will be many, many years before the Nation is again blessed with a man such as Dwight David Eisenhower. Many others have chronicled his historic achievements, which were very great indeed, and I can add little to that. The thing that I best recollect about the general, however, is his strong sense of humanism and his dedication to the morality that has pervaded the American people and made them able to endure all the hardships that befall a great nation.

Soldier, statesman, writer that he was, I believe that he will be best remembered in the history of our Nation as the guiding light for America during years of peril and an inspiration to us all in rebuilding the world and leading it from devastation to unprecedented growth. The general lived as he died, always fighting against overwhelming odds and seeking out the best of all possible solutions.

The years 1952–60 are already looked back upon in nostalgic terms for our Nation. During that time, we were a nation unified for a common purpose, seeking a common goal, hand in hand. The Eisenhower years were a Periclean age when we were recovering from nearly 12 years of warfare and international strife. The leadership provided during those years enabled us to bind up our wounds, rebuild much of the world, and chart a course for growth unknown before in the world.

As easy as it is to heap praise upon someone with General Eisenhower's stature, I am certain that he would want to be remembered as a man of the people, an American Cincinnatus, who heeded the call of his Nation when it needed him even at the risk of great personal sacrifice. When the former President suffered his first heart attack which brought him so close to death some 14 years ago, it would have been easy for him to have retired from public life,

which was the advice of many physicians. However, in the true Eisenhowerian sense, he put his personal considerations aside to serve his country that he loved so dearly.

Mr. Eisenhower spoke often of his country and the people who comprised it during his colorful and spiritually rewarding service to his nation, but I believe that one of his most poignant statements came from him just after he had assumed his Presidential office in 1953 and was proceeding on his work. When he spoke, he captured what must be considered as one of the finest thoughts on the essence of what is America. As always with the general, it was short, simple, and to the heart of the matter:

But never let us forget that the deep things that are America are the soul and the spirit. The Statue of Liberty is not tired, and not because it is made of bronze. It is because no matter what happens, here the individual is dignified because he is created in the image of God. Let us never forget it.

Mr. SAXBE. Mr. President, Dwight David Eisenhower was a man for all seasons and all peoples. America has lost a great patriot and a great leader. The sadness of this time is even deeper because America has also lost a great man.

This soldier-statesman, a man of peace and love of country, was a fighter to the end. He was a marvelous fighter who lived like a general and died like a general.

Yet even in war, Mr. Eisenhower was a messiah of peace. On a 20th-century day of apprehension, June 6, 1944, for example, he messaged the people of Western Europe while Allied troops were storming ashore in Normandy:

This landing is part of the concerted United Nations plan for the liberation of Europe, made in conjunction with our great Russian allies . . . I call upon all who love freedom to stand with us now. Together we shall achieve victory.

In all of my personal contacts with Mr. Eisenhower, I was always impressed with his outgoing, warm personality and attitude. Even when he ascended to the two highest positions of his twin careers—General of the Army and President of the United States—this plain-talking man from Abilene never lost the humility and touch that bonded him to his people. Perhaps his greatest appeal, in fact, rested in the way even the most humble of Americans was able to identify with the man we all called "Ike."

Mr. Eisenhower's view of humility may have been best expressed late in World War II, in an address at Guildhall, London. He said that day:

Humility must always be the portion of any man who receives acclaim earned in the blood of his followers and the sacrifices of his friends,

Dwight David Eisenhower, our 34th President, was born October 14, 1890, in Denison, Tex. He was the third son of David and Ida Elizabeth Stover Eisenhower. A year later the family moved to Abilene, Kans., where the young "Ike" earned both academic and scholastic honors at Abilene High School. Eisenhower entered West Point in July 1911, where, 4 years later, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Infan-



try and assigned to Fort Sam Houston, Tex.

It was there that he met Mamie Geneva Doud, a gentle lady who would spend the next 52 years at his side. They were married July 1, 1916, at Denver, Colo.

General Eisenhower's military career is known today to nearly all Americans: It spanned two world wars and a number of lesser crises in our history. His ability as a master planner and tactician were quickly recognized by his superiors.

The general was named commander in chief of Allied forces in North Africa in 1942, and directed the successful campaigns in Africa, Sicily, and Italy.

Later, he was named supreme commander of all Allied Forces in Europe and directed the "great invasion" that eventually brought the enemy to his knees.

I do not intend to recount Mr. Eisenhower's political career here, except to note that he was elected President in November 1952, and took office January 20, 1953. He was reelected President in 1956.

It was typical of Mr. Eisenhower that, for a man who spent more than half of his life in the uniform of a warrior, he was always a highly religious and devout man. Shortly after World War II, when he had directed the most awesome military machine ever assembled, Mr. Eisenhower was asked about his religious beliefs. He replied:

I am the most intensely religious man I know. Nobody goes through six years of war without faith.

His inner beliefs were perhaps best expressed for all time in a message to the American people in 1953. He said:

The things that make us proud to be Americans are of the soul and spirit. They are not the jewels we wear, or the furs we buy, the house we live in, the standard of living, even, that we have. All these things are wonderful to the esthetic and to the physical senses.

But never let us forget that the deep things that are America are the soul and the spirit. The Statue of Liberty is not tired, and not because it is made of bronze. It is because no matter what happens, here the individual is dignified because he is created in the image of his God . . .

That was Dwight David Eisenhower. Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. President, millions of words, in many languages, have been written and spoken in tribute to Dwight David Eisenhower through the years and over this sad weekend. As heads of state, prominent men and women, and ordinary citizens have expressed their admiration and respect for General Eisenhower, one remarkable theme has been that of simple, universal affection for this extraordinary man.

Americans can say of Dwight Eisenhower, more than of any other man, that he was their friend. Those of us who had the privilege of knowing him only share in a richer sense this conviction that he was a genuinely warm and sincerely dedicated human being.

It was this human quality that gave an extra dimension to General Eisenhower's dramatic career as a soldier. He directed the greatest Allied Expeditionary Force in history, and in the course to that vic-

tory he was able to shape a grand alliance of free men which reached and endured far beyond the formal accords of governments.

It was this human quality that gave the Eisenhower Presidency its emphasis on peace and on humane concerns, an emphasis which met a deep national need, steadied the country, and brought the free world to new, lasting confidence and energy.

It was this human quality that produced the great sense of friendship and regard for Dwight Eisenhower which we have witnessed among those far too young to have served in World War II or voted in the national elections of the 1950's.

It was this human quality which made him, as President Nixon stated in his moving eulogy of yesterday, "an authentic hero"—not only recognized for his heroic deeds, but loved for his authentic faith and personal commitment.

To some, General Eisenhower's death marks the further disappearance of those grand figures and historic leaders who made the free world a reality. To many, his death has brought a sadness and nostalgia for a somehow simpler world in which there were great men who could lead peoples in great causes, live rich and full lives, and pass on peacefully.

Yet, in the respectful quietness of national mourning, we have all felt a return to those qualities of humanity and decency which are at the heart of America. We have felt a sense of community which, although evoked by sorrow, gives us hope.

Dwight David Eisenhower is mourned and will be remembered above all else because he had a vision of a world in which men would be guided by their higher ideals, a world in which the selfishness and folly of nations would be submerged in the greater desire and willingness of people to act together in the cause of peace and freedom. It is this vision, grounded in faith and infused with compassion, which will be his legacy and should be our guide.

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, many words have been spoken and written in the hours since Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower lost his gallant fight for life on Friday, even though words are inadequate to express America's loss of a great man. His dedication to freedom and his service to his country as a soldier and as a statesman to maintain that freedom have been widely praised. His strength of character, which in turn gave moral strength to millions of Americans for two decades, has been widely honored.

I should like to add a short personal tribute to General Eisenhower, as one who was honored to have known him as a friend and adviser. I am particularly moved to be able to make my tribute in this historic Senate Chamber, because it was General Eisenhower's early support and encouragement over a year and a half ago, that contributed to my decision to become a candidate for the U.S. Senate seat I presently hold.

General Eisenhower lived in, and loved, Gettysburg, Pa., and we in turn, from Pennsylvania, gained the honor of

calling him a neighbor. He brought the same high sense of personal honor and integrity to his activities in Pennsylvania, as he did to the affairs of state as President of the United States. He brought the same love of his fellow man to the town of Gettysburg, as he did across the world, in the many stirring trips as President we still remember.

As a general, he united allied countries to wage a fight against oppression. As President, he united our country in an unprecedented time of peace and prosperity, to improve the lot of all mankind. As a man, he represented the highest qualities of what has made America great, and he served his country long and selflessly to make it great. I can think of no better eulogy than to recount his life of service, and his love of humanity, and the inspiring example that his life provided for us all.

We have lost a great leader, and the Eisenhower family has lost a great man. He was, is, and will be one of America's most beloved Presidents.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. President, for a large portion of my life, Dwight David Eisenhower was my Commander in Chief, in peace and in war. Today, millions of Americans feel, as we do, the sense of loss that comes from losing not only a leader, but a friend.

No President in our memories has so firm a place in the hearts of our Nation. Fathers fought under his command, and their sons grew up to know him as a man of peace. All Americans mourn him today. But it is mourning that covers a deep sense of gratitude. America is a better place for his having been here; Americans know this and are thankful for it. He led his countrymen through some of the most difficult years the United States has ever known—and he led them later to peace, strength, and prosperity at home and abroad.

President Eisenhower held a special place in the hearts of Alaskans, over and above that which exists so completely throughout the country. For it was under his administration that Alaska became our 49th State. It was with President Eisenhower's support that Alaskans were granted the full rights and privileges of American citizenship. In a speech in Denver in 1950, recognizing the unjustness of territorial status, he said:

Quick admission of Alaska and Hawaii to statehood will show the world that America practices what it preaches.

For our 34th President, statehood for Alaska was a matter of simple justice. And in January, 1959, this hope of equality for Alaska became a reality with his proclamation of January 3, 1959, that Alaska was a fullfledged member of the Union. In a very real sense he was a "50-star" general—for he was the first President to serve as the leader of our Union of 50 States. Alaskans mourn his passing with special sorrow. He gave us so much; indeed, without Dwight David Eisenhower, I doubt seriously whether many of us would be here today.

A nation should always mourn the passing of a leader. But many of us today not only mourn; we grieve the passing of an era. It seems only a short time ago that, as supreme commander, Gen.

Dwight Eisenhower's firm voice commanded the Allied Armies in Europe; and an even shorter time ago that he steered this great country through crisis and change. He conceived of Atoms for Peace and started the process by which we shall achieve our ageless dream of reaching the stars. His strengths, ideals, and accomplishments will be landmarks for use and all American in times to come.

Mr. President, as Dwight D. Eisenhower gave unstintingly to America, America in return gave him its love and respect. He had many honors, the love of his country, and the respect of the world. But when he listed the accomplishments of his administration, statehood for Alaska and Hawaii appeared first on the long list of achievements of the Nation under his leadership.

To Alaskans, he was a man who matched our mountains—a man who stood above the crowd, a man firm in purpose, devout in his heart, and true to the ideals he espoused.

Dwight Eisenhower loved his country—he served it well.

He would ask no greater epitaph than that.

Mr. FONG. Mr. President, I am deeply grieved by the death of our beloved leader Dwight David Eisenhower. Hoping against hope, I had prayed that this gallant soldier would once again conquer physical adversity.

There is no question that America has lost one of its greatest heroes—a brilliant general, a skilled statesman, an outstanding leader.

We—and the world—will sorely miss one of our foremost citizens, a man of upright convictions who throughout his entire life was a force for goodness and justice for all mankind.

It is sad indeed that his wise counsel is lost to us particularly at a time when the winds of dissension tear at the fabric of our civilization and moral confusion corrodes a growing segment of society. We need so much his calm and reasoned counsel and his dignity and faith and inspiration.

His passing is a real loss, not only to the American people but to peoples in far-flung lands around the globe, who recall his magnificent record in ending war and in building peace.

Millions of Americans remember General Eisenhower in his capacity as World War II commander in chief of the Allied Forces in Europe, and their gratitude to him for his leadership is personal.

Millions of Americans remember his strength and ability as supreme commander of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which served to keep the hard-won peace in Europe after World War II.

Millions recall his tenure as president of Columbia University, a magnificent institution of higher education, to which he imparted great prestige and honor.

Millions of Americans lived during the 8 years of his Presidency, and they know from personal experience the peace and tranquility and progress of the years 1953 through 1960—and their gratitude to him is personal.

Other millions are too young to re-

member most of the deeds and the accomplishments of Dwight David Eisenhower in his long life of service to the American people and to freedom-loving people everywhere. They only know from history books of his wartime record and his performance as 34th President of the United States.

In these eulogies, we hope to recall and convey as best we can something of the greatness and the goodness of Dwight Eisenhower and to preserve for posterity the fundamental precepts for which he stood.

Trained as a soldier, he left military service after reaching the pinnacle of success to enter civilian life, where he also reached the pinnacle of success—success measured not alone by his winning two terms as President of the greatest Nation on earth, but success measured by his ability to keep the peace.

A soldier of war became one of America's greatest peacemakers. Surely his skill at maintaining peace is one of the greatest monuments to his memory.

Others will chronicle the triumphs, the milestones, and the contributions of Dwight Eisenhower to his country and to the world. Today I should like to emphasize his major achievements as two-term President of the United States—"major" as he himself assessed his tenure in office. For his own evaluation of his record reveals, better than my words can do, his sense of values and his concern and compassion for people.

Called upon in October 1966 to defend his record as President, General Eisenhower enumerated 23 accomplishments.

We see Dwight Eisenhower's passionate devotion to peace in these achievements on his list:

End of the Korean war—thereafter no American killed in combat while he was President.

Good will journeys to more than a score of nations in Europe, Asia, Africa, South Africa, and in the Pacific.

Prevention of Communist efforts to dominate Iran, Guatemala, Lebanon, Formosa, South Vietnam.

Atoms-for-peace program.

Preservation for the first time in American history of adequate military establishment after cessation of war.

Initiating a strong ballistic missile program.

Conceiving and building the Polaris program, with submarines operating at sea within a single administration.

Reorganization of the Defense Department.

Initiation of a plan for social progress in Latin America after obtaining necessary authorization from Congress for \$500 million.

We see Dwight Eisenhower's compassion for people in these accomplishments on his list:

Intelligent application of Federal aid to education—National Defense Education Act.

Extension of social security old-age and survivors insurance to over 10 million persons.

Starting Federal medical care for the aged—Kerr-Mills program.

Establishment of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

We see Dwight Eisenhower's firm adherence to Government's obligation to maintain a sound currency and monetary system in the following achievements he listed:

Slowing up and practical elimination of inflation.

Largest reduction in taxes to that time. Fighting for responsible fiscal and financial policies throughout 8 years.

We see Dwight Eisenhower's awareness of the need for resource development and technological progress in the following achievements on his list:

Building of the St. Lawrence Seaway. Initiation of the Nation's space program with successful orbits in less than 3 years, starting from scratch.

Initiation of, and great progress in, the most ambitious road program by any nation in all history.

We see Dwight Eisenhower's deep passion for justice, fairplay, and equal rights in these accomplishments on his list:

The first civil rights law in 80 years.

Using Federal power to enforce orders of a Federal court in Arkansas, with no loss of life.

Desegregation in Washington, D.C., and in the Armed Forces by administrative action.

And last, but not least, statehood for Alaska and Hawaii.

It is significant that Dwight Eisenhower mentioned statehood first in his listing. But I mention it last because I want to say a few words about Dwight Eisenhower's vital role in statehood.

We of Hawaii owe a special debt of gratitude to him, for he made it possible for Hawaii to become a State of the Union, a status for which we had struggled for more than half a century.

As President he was an ardent champion of statehood for Hawaii. In his state of the Union message on January 5, 1956, President Eisenhower spoke of "one particular challenge" confronting Americans. He said:

In the Hawaiian Islands, East meets West. To the Islands, Asia and Europe and the Western Hemisphere, all the continents, have contributed their peoples and their cultures to display a unique example of a community that is a successful laboratory in human brotherhood.

Statehood, supported by the repeatedly expressed desire of the Islands' people and by our traditions, would be a shining example of the American way to the entire earth. Consequently, I urgently request this Congress to grant statehood for Hawaii.

Never before had any Chief Executive called for statehood for Hawaii with such enthusiasm or urgency. Within 4 years, the issue was resolved on the side of justice and fairplay.

Congress passed the Hawaii statehood bill in March 1959, and President Eisenhower promptly signed it into law. It was a glorious victory in Hawaii's struggle for equal rights that began more than a half a century earlier.

The long and arduous campaign for statehood came to a final end on August 21, 1959, when President Eisenhower signed a proclamation which declared, in part, that "admission of the State of Hawaii into the Union on equal footing with the other States of the Union is now accomplished."



I remember so clearly the day Dwight Eisenhower invited me, one of Hawaii's first two U.S. Senators, to the White House to accept the first 50-star flag representing the addition of Hawaii to the Union. Ike's pleasure and pride in Hawaii statehood were genuinely evident, and we all realized a wonderful new chapter in our Nation's history was beginning.

So, on this 10th anniversary of statehood, the people of Hawaii salute Dwight Eisenhower with a grateful "Thank you" and with the warmest aloha from our hearts. We are indeed deeply touched that he listed statehood for Hawaii as one of the great achievements of his Presidency.

Just as Hawaii has special reason to be grateful to Dwight Eisenhower, so billions of freedom-loving human beings on this planet have good reason for gratitude. As an outstanding and victorious soldier, he captured the affection and respect of his countrymen and of the peoples saved and liberated through his brilliant leadership.

And as a soldier of peace in the decades following, he increased their affection and respect. Dwight Eisenhower became the most popular President since George Washington and, although he had been out of public office for 9 years, he remained the most admired man in the world to his final days.

As President Nixon so aptly said yesterday in his moving eulogy, Dwight Eisenhower "was probably loved by more people in more parts of the world than any President America has ever had."

When future generations of America ask "Why was this so?" we want them to know the qualities of mind and spirit that so endeared Dwight Eisenhower to his fellow man.

He personified the essential goodness and greatness of the American Nation and the American people. He came from humble beginnings and he was taught to revere God, to love his country, and to honor his fellow man.

He was taught to distinguish right from wrong and to persevere in behalf of what is right.

Raised in the heartland of America, among plain, God-loving, dignified people, Dwight Eisenhower personified those enduring qualities that are universally admired and respected—gentle kindness, inherent decency, human compassion, unquestioned honesty, integrity, courage, strength in adversity, self-respect, humble confidence, and unflinching faith in God and in men, the children of God.

These but barely sketch the true dimensions of this giant among men. Ordinary standards and ordinary words inadequately measure the extraordinary man that Dwight Eisenhower was.

Perhaps the simplest and best way to describe the stature of Dwight Eisenhower is to say that he was a man who loved people and his love was so all embracing that billions of human beings here and abroad reciprocated.

In many lands, among many races, and in many tongues, the feeling is, and for years has been, expressed in the same

way: "I like Ike." No higher tribute can be paid the memory of Dwight Eisenhower.

My wife Ellyn joins me in extending our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Eisenhower, John Eisenhower, and all the members of the Eisenhower family. We shall always cherish the memory of their beloved "Ike."

Mr. GOODELL. Mr. President, today this Nation mourns not only a former President and general, but a man.

It is a cliché to say that Dwight David Eisenhower was admired; how much more fitting to his memory it is to say "we like Ike."

It might be worth noting in passing that all the political slogans in American history—"Fifty-four forty or fight," "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," "Back to normalcy," "Chicken in every pot," and many many others were slogans about an issue or about a man and an issue. "I like Ike" was the only slogan that expressed America's feeling about a man.

There is a deeper reason for this mass affection than the fact of his military genius or his infectious grin.

I think President Nixon put his finger on it when he said in yesterday's eulogy:

We find ourselves, thinking today, not of his deeds, but of his character.

I think that no finer tribute to Ike can be made than that we resolve today to rededicate ourselves, not only as a people but as individuals, to the basic values that went to make up that character.

Ethics, morality, courage, integrity, honor, decency, faith.

Dwight David Eisenhower possessed and used these simple homely virtues each day of his life.

We would do well to reassess our outlook on what these values mean in our society today.

We have, to all too great extent, relinquished much of our self-control as well as our public control. There has been a loss of resolve, a lessening of the built-in deterrents that are such an essential part of the human psyche.

We have become a nation of people that is increasingly more permissive and increasingly less prohibitive in its critique of the scene in which we are involved.

Our sense of proportion seems to have undergone a not too subtle erosion.

It is my earnest belief that the basis of decent human conduct is still to be found in the fabric of the Ten Commandments and the Sermon on the Mount.

Today, unfortunately, it has become somewhat "square" to refer to the values of the spirit—and yet there is not one of us, who deep in his heart does not desire for his children that they grow up with a deep sense of spiritual value.

Let us therefore on this day of sadness, pause to reflect and to make use of the lesson of Ike's career and how he conducted himself personally.

Let us each in our hearts, resolve to be unafraid and unashamed to proclaim that the quiet dignity of good character, is a virtue to be praised, rather than to be ridiculed as "out of date."

And let us see to it—each of us—that

we never let this concept die, that we follow the words of the passage from Deuteronomy that say:

And these words which I command thee this day, shall be upon thy heart. Thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children and shalt speak of them when thou sittest in thy house, when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down and when thou rises up . . . that ye may remember and do all my Commandments and be holy unto your God.

Dwight Eisenhower was "holy unto his God." People realized this; it was an unspoken understanding.

In the words of President Nixon:

We are grateful for the life of Dwight David Eisenhower. He truly came from the heart of America.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. BYRD of West Virginia. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION

The question is on agreeing to the resolution, which will be stated.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

S. Res. 175

*Resolved*, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Dwight David Eisenhower, a former President of the United States and General of the Army of the United States.

*Resolved*, That as a token of honor to his illustrious statesmanship, his leadership in national and world affairs, his distinguished public service to his nation, and as a mark of respect to one who has held such eminent public station in life, the Senate hereby expresses its deep sensibility of the loss the nation has sustained by his death, and its sympathy with the family in their bereavement.

*Resolved*, That the two Senators from Kansas be appointed by the President of the Senate to attend the funeral of the deceased, to be held at Abilene, Kansas.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

*Resolved*, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

The resolution (S. Res. 175) was unanimously agreed to.

#### ADJOURNMENT

The PRESIDING OFFICER. In accordance with the provisions of Senate Resolution 175, under the order previously entered, and as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased former President of the United States, Dwight David Eisenhower, the Senate will now adjourn.

Accordingly (at 2 o'clock p.m.), the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, April 1, 1969, at 12 o'clock meridian.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Monday, March 31, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.  
The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for Thou art with me.—Psalm 23: 4.*

Almighty and Eternal God, the comforter of Thy children and the strength of those who put their trust in Thee, we assemble this day with sorrow in our hearts at the passing of General of the Army Dwight David Eisenhower, our beloved 34th President. Even in the sadness of farewell we think fondly of him who walked so worthily in our midst and who served so well as the leader of our country.

We mourn his passing because he reflected in his own personality the tradition of a free people and revealed in his life the shrine of our Nation's faith and hope.

We thank Thee for him, for his courage of mind and heart, for his strength of character, for his desire to do what he firmly believed to be right and for his devotion to his family and to his country. Certainly our United States is a better nation—stronger and freer—because he lived and led us in war and in peace.

So we honor the memory of this great and good man, "who more than self his country loved," and in so doing we dedicate ourselves anew to Thee and to our Nation in the global struggle between democracy and dictatorship.

Comfort the family with Thy sustaining spirit and strengthen them for these hours and for the days to come. Keep them and us, steady and strong, this day and forever more. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, March 27, 1969, was read and approved.

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

H.J. Res. 584. Joint resolution making a supplemental appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Vice President, pursuant to Public Law 170, 74th Congress, appointed Mr. BAYH as a delegate on the part of the Senate to attend the Interparliamentary Union Meeting to be held in Vienna, Austria, April 7 through April 13, 1969.

The message also announced that the Vice President, pursuant to Public Law 77-250, appointed Mr. HRUSKA to be a member of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures in lieu of Mr. ALLOTT, resigned.

The message also announced that the Vice President, pursuant to Public Law 86-420, appointed Mr. BYRD of West Virginia and Mr. JAVITS to attend the Mexico-United States Interparliamentary Conference to be held in three cities in

Mexico from April 2 through April 8, 1969, in lieu of Mr. BAYH and Mr. MURPHY, excused.

## TRANSFER OF SPECIAL ORDER

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the special order granted to me for Wednesday may be transferred to tomorrow.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

## POSTPONEMENT OF SPECIAL ORDERS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the special orders scheduled for today be postponed until tomorrow.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

## GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND—AND GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF FORMER PRESIDENT DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that, without establishing a precedent, all Members may have the privilege of inserting their remarks and including extraneous material therewith in the body of the RECORD today, and that all Members may have 3 legislative days in which to extend their remarks in the RECORD on the life and character of our former President, Dwight David Eisenhower.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

## COMMUNICATION FROM THE CLERK OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following communication from the Clerk of the House of Representatives:

MARCH 28, 1969.

The Honorable the SPEAKER,  
U.S. House of Representatives:

DEAR SIR: I have the honor to transmit herewith a sealed envelope addressed to the Speaker of the House of Representatives from the President of the United States, received in the Clerk's Office at 3:35 p.m., on Friday, March 28, 1969, and said to contain a message from the President wherein he informs the Congress of the death of former President Eisenhower.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely,

W. PAT JENNINGS, Clerk.

## OFFICIAL NOTIFICATION OF THE DEATH OF DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER, THE 34TH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States:

*To the Congress of the United States:*  
It is my sad duty to inform you officially of the death of Dwight David Eisenhower, the thirty-fourth President of the United States.

We have lost a great leader, a great friend and a great man. I know there are many members of the Congress who had the privilege of serving under his military leadership, and who later, during his eight years as President, shared with him in the building of a better America. He had a profound respect for the traditions, the institutions and the instruments of our Nation. He leaves to the Congress and to all Americans the spirit of patriotism and statesmanship beyond party which marked his entire career. As we grieve at his death, we all will recall that spirit, which can guide and sustain us in our tasks ahead. He has been an inspiration to us all, and ours is a better government because he walked among us.

RICHARD NIXON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, March 28, 1969.

## TRIBUTE TO THE LATE HONORABLE DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. MORGAN) will assume the chair.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MORGAN). The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Massachusetts, the distinguished Speaker of the House.

Mr. MCCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert at this point in the RECORD the eulogy delivered on President Eisenhower yesterday in the rotunda by President Nixon.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

The President's eulogy to Dwight David Eisenhower follows:

## PRESIDENT'S EULOGY TO EISENHOWER AT RITES IN CAPITOL'S ROTUNDA

Mrs. Eisenhower, your excellencies, friends of Dwight David Eisenhower in America and throughout the world.

We gather today in mourning but also in gratitude. We mourn Dwight Eisenhower's death. But we are grateful for his life.

We gather also conscious of the fact that, in paying tribute to Dwight Eisenhower, we celebrate greatness. When we think of his place in history, we think inevitably of the other giants of those days of World War II.

And we think of the qualities of greatness and what his were that made his unique among all.

Once, perhaps without intending to do so, he himself put his finger on it.

It was 1945, shortly after VE Day at a ceremony in London's historic Guildhall. The triumphant Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in Europe was officially given the freedom of the city of London.

In an eloquent address that day, Dwight Eisenhower said:

"I come from the heart of America."

## MEANING FOR AMERICANS

Perhaps no one sentence could better sum up what Dwight Eisenhower meant to a whole generation of Americans. He did come from the heart of America, not only from its geographical heart but from its spiritual heart. He exemplified what millions of parents hoped that their sons would be—strong



and courageous and honest and compassionate.

And with his own great qualities of heart, he personified the best in America. It is, I think, a special tribute to Dwight Eisenhower that, despite all of his great deeds and his triumphs, we find ourselves today thinking first, not of his deeds, but of his character.

It was the character of the man—not what he did, but what he was—that so captured the trust and faith and affection of his own people and of the people of the world.

Dwight Eisenhower touched something fundamental in America which only a man of immense force of mind and spirit could have brought so vibrantly alive. He was a product of America's soil, and of its ideals, driven by a compulsion to do right and to do well, a man of deep faith who believed in God and trusted in his will, a man who truly loved his country and for whom words like freedom and democracy were not clichés—but they were living truths.

I know Mrs. Eisenhower would permit me to share with you the last words she spoke to him on the day he died.

He said, "I've always loved my wife, I've always loved my children, I've always loved my grandchildren. And I have always loved my country." That was Dwight Eisenhower.

#### LAST WORDS QUOTED

He was a man who gave enormously of himself. His way of relaxing from the intense pressures of office or command was to do something else intensely—whether as a fierce competitor on the golf course or executing one of those hauntingly beautiful paintings that he did with such meticulous care.

People loved Dwight Eisenhower. But the other side of this coin was that he loved people. He had the great leader's capacity to bring out the best in people. He had the great humanist's capacity to inspire people, to cheer them, to give them lift. I remember for example, just a few months ago when I asked all of the members of the Cabinet to go out and call on him. And each of them returned with wonder and admiration and said, "You know, I went out there to cheer him up and instead I found he cheered me up."

His great love of people was rooted in his faith. He had a deep faith in the goodness of God and in the essential goodness of man as a creature of God. This feeling toward people had another side. In the political world strong passions are the norm. And all too often these turn toward personal vindictiveness. People often disagreed with Dwight Eisenhower, but almost nobody ever hated him. And this, I think, was because he himself was a man who did not know how to hate. Oh, he could be aroused by a cause—but he could not hate a person. He could disagree strongly, even passionately, but never personally.

When people disagreed with him, he never thought of them as enemies. He simply thought, they don't agree with me.

I remember, time after time, when critics of one sort or another were misrepresenting him or reviling him, he would sit back in his chair, and with that wonderful half-smile and half-frown, he'd say: "I'm puzzled by those fellows."

And he was genuinely puzzled by frenzy and by hate; because he was incapable of it himself, he couldn't ever quite understand it in others.

#### AN AUTHENTIC HERO

The last time I saw him that was what he talked about. He was puzzled by the hatreds he had seen in our times. And he said the thing the world needs most today is understanding, and ability to see the other person's point of view, and not to hate him because he disagrees. That was Dwight Eisenhower.

And, yet, of course, he was more than all that. He had a side more evident to those of

us who worked with him than to the rest of the world. He was a strong man. He was shrewd. He was decisive. Time and again I have seen him make decisions that probably made the difference between war and peace for America and the world.

That was always when he was at his best.

No matter how heated the arguments were, he was always then the coolest man in the room. Dwight Eisenhower was that rarest of men—an authentic hero. Wars bring the names of many men into the headlines and of those some few become national or even international heroes, but as the years then pass their fame goes down.

#### STATURE CONTINUED TO GROW

But not so with Dwight Eisenhower. As the years passed his stature grew. Commander of the mightiest expeditionary force ever assembled, receiver of the surrender of the German armies in World War II, president of Columbia University, Supreme Commander of NATO, 34th President of the United States—the honors, the offices, were there in abundance. Every trust that the American people had in their power to bestow, he was given.

And, yet, he always retained a saving humility.

His was the humility not of fear but of confidence. He walked with the great of the world and he knew that the great are human. His was the humility of a man too proud to be arrogant.

The pursuit of peace was uppermost in his mind when he ran for the Presidency, and it was uppermost in his conduct of that office.

And it is a tribute to his skill and determination that not since the 1930's has the nation enjoyed so long a period of peace both at home and abroad as the one that began in 1953 and continued through his Presidency.

As commander of the mightiest allied force ever assembled, he was the right man at the right place at the right time. And as President once again, he was the right man at the right place and at the right time.

He restored calm to a divided nation. He gave Americans a new measure of self-respect. He invested his office with dignity and respect and trust. He made Americans proud of their President, proud of their country, proud of themselves.

And if we in America were proud of Dwight Eisenhower it was partly because he made us proud of America. He came from the heart of America and he gave expression to the heart of America and he touched the hearts of the world.

Many leaders are known and respected outside their own countries. Very few are loved outside their own countries. Dwight Eisenhower was one of those few.

He was probably loved by more people in more parts of the world than any President America has ever had. He captured the deepest feelings of free men everywhere.

#### PRINCIPLES HE STOOD FOR

The principles he believed in, the ideals he stood for, these were bigger than his own country. Perhaps he himself put it best again in that Guildhall speech in 1945.

He said then:

"Kinship among nations is not determined in such measurements as proximity, size and age. Rather, we should turn to those inner things—call them what you will—I mean those intangibles that are the real treasures that free men possess. To preserve his freedom of worship, his equality before the law, his liberty to speak and act as he sees fit, subject only to provisions that he not trespass upon similar rights of others, a Londoner will fight and so will a citizen of Abilene."

"When we consider these things, then the valley of the Thames draws closer to the farms of Kansas and the plains of Texas."

Some men are considered great because they lead great armies, or they lead powerful nations. For eight years now, Dwight Eisenhower has neither commanded an army nor led a nation. And yet he remained through his final days the world's most admired and respected man, truly the first citizen of the world.

#### SOURCE OF HIS GREATNESS

As we marvel at this, it leads us again to ponder the mysteries of greatness. Dwight Eisenhower's greatness derived not from his office but from his character, from a unique moral force that transcended national boundaries, even as his own deep concern for humanity transcended national boundaries.

His life reminds us that there is a moral force in this world more powerful than the might of arms, or the wealth of nations. This man who led the most powerful armies that the world has ever seen; this man who led the most powerful nation in the world; this essentially good and gentle and kind man—that moral force was his greatness.

For a quarter of a century to the very end of his life, Dwight Eisenhower exercised a moral authority without parallel in America and in the world.

And America and the world is better because of him.

And, so, today we render our final salute. It is a fond salute to a man we loved and cherished. It is a grateful salute to a man whose whole extraordinary life was consecrated to service.

It is a profoundly respectful salute to a man larger than life who by any standard was one of the giants of our time.

Each of us here will have a special memory of Dwight Eisenhower.

I can see him now standing erect, straight, proud and tall 16 years ago as he took the oath of office as the 34th President of the United States of America.

We salute Dwight David Eisenhower standing there in our memories—first in war, first in peace and, wherever freedom is cherished, first in the hearts of his fellow men.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the sense of loss that afflicts this great Nation when a man who has occupied its Chief Magistracy passes to his eternal reward has a profound and touching effect upon us. In the death of Dwight David Eisenhower we see once again how deeply run the feelings of Americans, how fervently wells in their hearts a love of country, and how measureless is their fundamental respect for their greatest leaders. Has any monarch of the kingdoms of old, has any tyrant of the totalitarianisms of yesterday or of today, ever evoked by his demise the grief that has been experienced by all of us at President Eisenhower's passing?

The forebears of the man who was to lead the most massive invasion in the history of the world left Germany because of religious persecution. They settled, during the eighties of the 18th century, in Pennsylvania. General Eisenhower's grandfather migrated to Kansas in 1878, and in Kansas the young American who was to be his country's 34th President grew to manhood. He was graduated from the U.S. Military Academy in 1915 and pursued one of the most distinguished military careers in this country's history. He led the invasion of north Africa and the invasion of Europe, both with stunning success. His overwhelming personal popularity among his admiring countrymen brought him to the Presidency for two terms.

His life is an example for all Amer-

icans, particularly of the younger generation to follow.

The policies that he followed as President of the United States were enunciated forcefully and unambiguously in his first state of the Union message on February 2, 1953, and never once did he waver from them. Down the long years those words of his return to our recollections as an apotheosis of the man, the soldier, the statesman, the humanitarian, the leader in peace and war, the President whom we have lost in death:

As our heart summons our strength, our wisdom must direct it. There is, in world affairs, a steady course to be followed between an assertion of strength that is truculent and a confession of helplessness that is cowardly. There is, in our affairs at home, a middle way between untrammelled freedom of the individual and the demands for the welfare of the whole nation. This way must avoid government by bureaucracy as carefully as it avoids neglect of the helpless. In every area of political action, free men must think before they can expect to win. In this spirit must we live and labor: confident of our strength, compassionate in our heart, clear in our mind. In this spirit, let us together turn to the great tasks before us.

In the sunset of his years, this great American has recounted for us how, as a West Point plebe, he experienced a sudden sense of pride in his country's flag and commenced the lifetime of devotion to its causes that made him one of the bright and shining heroes of our national life.

The plebes assembled toward evening of that long-ago day of June 14, 1911, and, as a member of that group whom we knew best has told us:

With the American flag floating majestically above us, we were sworn in as cadets of the U.S. Military Academy. It was an impressive ceremony. As I looked up at our national colors and swore my allegiance, I realized humbly that now I belonged to the flag. It is a moment I have never forgotten.

Dwight David Eisenhower's devotion to his country was the motivation of a lifetime in its service. His belief in his country's ideals led him to its Presidency. His belief in the worth of his fellow man, his religious idealism, his unaffected ways, his natural leadership, his magnetic smile, his stanch courage, endeared him to his countrymen who always had a special place for him in their affections. That special place, now vacant, is full of sorrow.

On March 29, 1969, I sent the following telegram:

Mrs. DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER,  
Washington, D.C.:

DEAR Mrs. EISENHOWER: In the passing of your beloved and distinguished husband, the Nation has lost one of its most outstanding statesman and military leader who served his country with sound judgment and courage in peace and in war. Your dear husband will always occupy a foremost position in American and in world history. For myself personally and as Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives and for the Members thereof I extend to you and your beloved ones our deep sympathy in your bereavement.

JOHN W. MCCORMACK,  
Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives.

We are all deeply touched. Not only the country but the world stops and pauses to pay tribute to one who took the jour-

ney of life, one who took it with vision and foresight, and who took it with courage and determination. This was a man of indomitable will, a man of extraordinary courage, who always kept foremost in his mind the flag of our country and, as he referred to it on past occasions, everything that our flag stands for. He has taken the journey into the great beyond, but the memory of Dwight David Eisenhower as citizen, soldier, statesman, and as a human being with great love for his fellow men will always live in the minds of men and women everywhere, particularly those who want to be free under their own law.

Again, for myself and all of my colleagues, and for Mrs. McCormack, I extend to Mrs. Eisenhower and her loved ones my deep sympathy in their great loss and sorrow.

Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. GERALD R. FORD).

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the tributes that already have been given in memory of Dwight David Eisenhower have been so heartfelt and so moving that it is difficult to say more. This was my feeling after hearing President Nixon's eulogy in the rotunda on Sunday. I feel the same way now after hearing the fine and kind words of our beloved Speaker.

There is, however, one aspect of the late President's remarkable character on which I would like to comment. It is the great interest he had in the warm confidence he showed in America's young people. As commander of allied forces in World War II, he had led hundreds of thousands of young men in battle; he knew what they could do and the dedication and sacrifice of which youth is capable, so it is no wonder that he believed in them as he did. Because he had seen firsthand the sacrifices of youth and the struggle for peace he had no doubts about the youth of the past nor those of the coming generation. He was not dismayed by the ill-advised activities of the small minority among our youth because he knew the overwhelming majority were as dedicated to America as he himself. Frequently he called the youth of the past and particularly the youth of the future the finest generations of young Americans this Nation has ever produced.

It is curious that although he was older in years than any of our other Presidents when he left the White House, General Eisenhower was younger in spirit and attitude than many men half his age. He once observed that no man is truly a man who does not have something of a boy in him, and he never lost his competitive drive, his enthusiasm, and his great capacity for friendship.

One day, after the general had laid down the burdens of the Presidency, Mrs. Ford and I visited Gettysburg with our two oldest boys, Mike and Jack. I had arranged an appointment with the general because we wanted them to have an opportunity to shake hands with and see at close range this great American, but we had not expected in this courtesy call to take but a few minutes of his time. Instead, General Eisenhower kept us for almost 2 hours, detailing for our two sons

the Battle of Gettysburg and recalling for them some of the fascinating highlights of his full career. He had a way with young people, and Mike and Jack were drawn to him because he never talked down to them and because he was so clearly interested in them and their opinions. I have often thought that if General Eisenhower had not become President, we would be eulogizing him for his great service on behalf of all mankind and for his leadership as a great university president or for some other conspicuous and dedicated service in the postwar years.

As President for 8 years, he was always mindful of the younger men in Government, always attentive to their views and conscious of his duty to bring them along the path of future service. He made the once ceremonial office of the Vice Presidency into an important adjunct of the Chief Executive, and those of us who were younger Members of Congress during his days in the White House will remember how closely he watched our performance and how sympathetically he considered our problems.

In recent years it was my privilege to serve with him on the national Republican coordinating committee, and there was no man of this group more faithful in attendance or more spirited in debate than the former President. Yet he never sought to dominate our discussion. What stands out in my mind most vividly with regard to General Eisenhower's contributions were the times when we on the committee were tempted by an excess of partisan zeal to swing a haymaker at the current occupant of the White House. In such circumstances the general would gently remind the rest of us:

Well, gentlemen, if I were sitting in that chair I wouldn't like that one bit. Remember, he is the President of the United States.

It is the true measure of General Eisenhower's greatness that he cannot easily be compared with any of our other national heroes. He had the dignity and integrity of General Washington, but his beginnings were as humble as Lincoln's. His dedication to free government was as deep as Jefferson's and his vision of a world at peace as profound as Wilson's. But an authentic hero must be unique, and Dwight David Eisenhower was, above all, himself. Those who once complained he was no politician now know that this, being true to one's own best self, is the best politics of all.

Mrs. Ford and I express our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Eisenhower and the family. America has lost one of its greatest sons and all mankind one of its finest leaders.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the distinguished Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts, yield?

Mr. MCCORMACK. I yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, when word reached us on Friday last that President Eisenhower had died I think my reaction must have been similar to that of just about every man, woman, and child in this country. I felt a sense of deep personal grief. I felt that someone close to me had gone. A strong pillar which for so long had helped to support the genera-



tion to which I belonged had been pulled down.

Now that his last days on earth have ended we see Dwight David Eisenhower in the total spectrum.

We see Eisenhower, the President—Eisenhower, the general—and Eisenhower, the man.

It is difficult at this point in history to assess the Eisenhower Presidency. In my opinion, given the perspective of time, Dwight D. Eisenhower as President will be rated much higher than many contemporary historians have seen fit to rate him in his lifetime. It is true that on the domestic front there were not spectacular new developments during the Eisenhower years comparable to those of the Roosevelt-Truman period before him, and the Kennedy-Johnson period after him. Nor can it be said that there were major changes in the broad outlines of President Truman's foreign policy. However, it must be said of President Eisenhower that he presided over the longest period of peace which our people have enjoyed since the late 1930's.

As a military leader General Eisenhower earned a unique place in the history of the Nation and in the history of warfare. It may be that other generals have been greater strategists and tacticians, more capable field commanders, but in the overpowering job of organizing, consolidating, and leading diverse interests and nationalities to sure and final victory against nazism, he stands in my opinion without peer in modern history.

From D-day to V-E Day he took personal responsibility and is entitled to personal credit for the success of every major decision.

It was General Eisenhower, the soldier, who, in the face of threatening weather reports, personally made the decision to cross the channel on June 6, 1944.

It was Eisenhower, the military leader, who shaped concerted and effective action from the work of many great field commanders of highly different views and talents.

It was Eisenhower, the statesman, who could win effective cooperation from the hands of all the Allied governments. His weapons were those of persuasion, patience, and firmness.

With it all he had total assurance in his own competence and in his own authority.

Surely it can be said of Dwight Eisenhower, even more surely than Byron said of Napoleon, that "he was the Cincinnatus of the West."

It is to Eisenhower, the man, that we must turn to get a glimpse of the total impact of his life and character. Born on the Texas frontier, just 6 miles from Indian territory, reared on the plains of Kansas, midst pioneer environment, into a family of little wealth but high ideals, his rise to fame and power was as sure and certain as that of Abraham Lincoln. As Walt Whitman said of Lincoln, we can say of him: One "never sees that man without feeling that he is one to become personally attached to, for his combination of purest, heartiest tenderness and native western form of manliness."

Here was a man to whom people al-

most instinctively turned. Though patient and unassuming, he was uniformly successful in accomplishing every important job he ever undertook, and very important jobs, indeed, did he undertake: supreme Allied commander in Europe in World War II, Chief of Staff, supreme commander and organizer of NATO, and President of the United States. He had attributes of character and experience which engendered confidence in everyone who ever saw him.

First of all, he was likable. Everybody liked Ike. He was probably the most beloved President since Washington. In the second place, he was never a petty partisan. Although he was finally convinced that he could best serve his country by running for President on the Republican ticket, he seemed to abhor traditional party politics. In his splendid essay on the American Presidency Harold J. Laski pointed out in substance that the American people disliked extreme partisanship in their Presidents. Mr. Eisenhower was probably the least partisan President since George Washington. More significant than all those facts perhaps, is the fact that the American people, and indeed the people of all the world on both sides of the Iron Curtain, had confidence in the judgment and competence of General Eisenhower. From his broad experiences in war and in NATO, as a result of his unparalleled knowledge of military and political leaders around the world, General Eisenhower had developed a vast reserve of knowledge which gave him unique qualifications to make proper decisions when questions of war and peace were hanging in the balance. This, in my opinion, caused the American people to trust him, and it caused the leaders of every nation to respect him. This, it seems to me, was a most important factor in Eisenhower's Presidency and one that historians will have to take into account in assessing his total contributions to America and to the world.

Until the day he died, President Eisenhower was beloved across his native land. We still cherish and will long cherish his memory. He still lives in the hearts of his countrymen.

We in this Chamber now salute this great and noble man who sleeps today in honor and glory beneath the historic dome of this magnificent building within which we meet.

To Mrs. Eisenhower and her son and his family, the whole Nation extends its deepest sympathy as it mourns the loss of one of its greatest and noblest sons.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ARENDS).

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, to all the wonderful words that have been said about former President and General Dwight David Eisenhower, I shall say, Amen.

Mr. Speaker, our Nation has lost its most beloved leader. I have lost a personal friend.

Not since Gen. George Washington has America known a servant of the people, both in war and in peace, more dedicated to his country than Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

His leadership, and the deep sincerity of his devotion to the cause of freedom,

engendered a faith in him among men everywhere and assures him a foremost place in history. His nobility of character and sincerity of purpose—that all men are born equal and endowed by their Maker with a right to be free—endeared him to the peoples of the world and earned for him their lasting gratitude.

He exemplified the finest qualities of America and of all Americans. His contribution to a better America and a better world was not solely on the field of battle nor in the councils of government, but also in the high quality of his moral leadership.

It is not we alone who mourn his loss. The humblest and the highest everywhere, around the globe, share our national grief.

He was a constant inspiration to me and to all of us who were privileged to work with him as our President.

For 8 years during his Presidency I was privileged to work closely with him. I looked forward to the weekly leadership meetings at the White House. However grave the matters discussed, he instilled in us confidence that what needs be done could be done. He was always understanding of different points of view and always objective as to what he hoped and desired to do legislatively. He sought to do only that which was in the best interests of our great country.

I was also privileged to play golf with him many, many times. Golf is a game he loved. It is often in a game, such as golf, that one gets to know his friend or adversary under the best and worst of circumstances, when one's skill and perseverance is being tested. He was a terrific competitor. He was one who always with every shot attempted to do his best. He played the game both hard and fair. And this is how he played the game of life, always fairly, with determination and purpose. For President Eisenhower I had the greatest respect, admiration, and love. He was one of the greatest men I have ever known. We are all the richer from having known him and for having had him as our leader.

Mrs. Arends joins me in extending our most sincere sympathy to the family.

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. BOGGS).

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join my colleagues—and indeed the people of the world—in mourning the loss of a great American leader, Dwight David Eisenhower.

General Eisenhower once said, "I come from the heart of America." Today, as we mourn his passing, I think it is appropriate to say that it is in the heart of America that his memory will forever reside.

For during his lifetime, General Eisenhower affirmed America—he was committed to our goals—and because of his devotion to our country, he rose from humble origins to her highest office.

Bismarck once observed that genuinely great men are known by three signs—generosity in the design, humanity in the execution, moderation in success. These, I believe, were the hallmarks of General Eisenhower's long and productive life.

The natural grief we feel on the loss of this great leader is, I think, tempered by our knowledge that few men live such long and accomplished lives.

In times of peace, in times of war—in all times of great national need—Dwight Eisenhower gave fully and generously of his rich resources of leadership. For his fellow man, he defended freedom, won victory, brought peace, and established security. No one, it would seem, could presume to do more.

He was, indeed, one of the great men of modern times, and I consider it one of the high honors of my life to have known him.

To his widow and his family, I join my colleagues in expressing our sorrow on his passing and our gratitude for having shared him with us.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the gentleman from Kansas (Mr. MIZE).

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, March 28, 1969, Dwight David Eisenhower, General of the Army, the 34th President of the United States, loving husband and gentle father, the beloved leader of his people in war and peace, passed from this life.

His death saddens free men everywhere, for he did as much as any man to protect and perpetuate human freedom. He dedicated his entire life to it.

Dwight Eisenhower carried our burdens upon his strong, broad back. He was bigger than life, and he cared. His work for freedom was done willingly—eagerly—and done exceedingly well.

We pay tribute to his accomplishments today, and our tributes are fond tributes. The affection which Americans held for Ike was genuine, and the loss we suffer with his passing is the loss of a good friend. That is the most grievous loss that anyone can sustain.

#### THE YEARS IN ABILENE

Eisenhower naturally liked people and respected them. He enjoyed the company of kings, of presidents, and prime ministers, and was at home with the lions of industry. He sought no less the companionship of students, farmers, workers, schoolteachers, small businessmen, and the troops. He gained strength from all of them.

In his youth, he knew no social stratification, no class distinction. No one was his "better"—no one was held in low esteem for want of proper heritage or current position. Each man had unique opportunity to prove himself, and each man deserved every success that came to him, for he had earned it.

That is the way it was in Abilene.

Abilene, at the turn of the century, was not a place for the habitually idle or frivolous. The unpaved, rutted, dusty streets, the hand-sawn lumber sidewalks, the sparse shops, the unrelenting challenge of the farms, and the wind-whipped outdoors in the dead of winter were enough to deter the faint of heart or weak of will from settling there.

Men came to Abilene for a decent chance to earn an honorable living, and most came with little more than a few chattels. The only avenue to achievement was bone-crushing hard work.

There were few charities and virtually

no government programs of relief. No one was called to Abilene by special privilege, and practically no one was ever asked to leave. Men came there for better opportunity than they had ever known, and they stayed because that opportunity came to them if they worked.

Men were respected for what they did themselves, and the lessons of Eisenhower's youth were practical lessons.

Frugality, good commonsense, hard work, respect for knowledge, and attention to the teachings of the Bible were hallmarks of human dignity in Abilene those days.

In 1890, the year Dwight Eisenhower was born, the Populist movement was strong in the Midwest. Five Members of Congress and one U.S. Senator were elected from Kansas on the Populist ticket that year. The party achieved a clear majority in the lower house of the State legislature, and courthouses were well staffed with adherents to the cause.

Prevailing adverse economic conditions could not be squared with the abundance of rich Kansas farmland, the competence of the people, and their commitment to fair dealing and hard work.

Most Kansans fervently believed that low farm prices were unconscionable, that the railroads and bankers held too much power, and that foreclosures were unsufferable and had to be regulated for the protection of small businessmen and farmers.

By the time Eisenhower was a teenager, the political movement had waned. But the code of Populist idealism—reverence for work and respect for the people who did the work—was firmly established.

Those views that had swept Kansas like a prairie fire were widely debated during Eisenhower's youth—albeit with some restraint by that time—at the Chautauquas, the meeting halls, the husking bees, and no doubt at the creamery where he worked after school. Walter T. K. Nugent, in his study of Kansas populism, gave this description of the prevalent notions of the time:

The Populist belief consisted of a feeling that the United States was a different kind of political society from any that had ever existed before and therefore more worth preserving than any previous one. America was not just another nation-state but an embodiment of certain ideals. It was an embodiment of democratic republicanism: a society where the people rule, where the governed consent to their governors, where the rights of life, liberty, and property are protected because this very protection is the object of their own self-government. It was the embodiment, too, of economic democracy: where resources wanted only honest labor to be translated into the reality of abundance, where opportunity was equal, where the distribution of the nation's wealth was equitable. It was the antithesis of Europe. . . . It was a place, in short, where the people rule for themselves and for the protection of their natural rights.

This, then, was the heritage which Dwight David Eisenhower carried with him to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. His roots were firmly implanted in the nourishing earth that was Abilene. His parents were representative of the finest citizens of Abilene, and he was their own true son.

He never severed those early ties. The lessons he had learned in youth helped him achieve good works throughout his distinguished career of public service.

#### THE YEARS IN UNIFORM

From the time he boarded the train at Abilene bound for West Point until he resigned as Allied commander in Europe to seek the Presidency, Eisenhower was throughout an Army man. During 2 intervening years as president of Columbia University, he had been restive. President Truman's call for his return to active duty had been welcome.

He was an Army man in the finest tradition, and yet his style of command was somehow distinctive. Nobody ever dared wave at any other five-star general and shout, "Hi, there, Pal," yet everybody yelled, "Hi, there, Ike." He always grinned at them and waved back. Perhaps that was the difference.

Early in his "yearling" or sophomore year at West Point, he was revolted at the humiliation he had inflicted upon an unfortunate plebe and vowed to refrain from harshly reprimanding any other victim of West Point's indoctrination system. For his 3 remaining years at the Academy, he kept the resolution.

While a junior officer, Eisenhower preferred assignments with the troops rather than prized staff positions that carried certain promotion with them.

Throughout his military career, he had an almost mystical capacity to capture the affection of his subordinates—whether a platoon or an entire army—as well as their respect and allegiance. This affection, which he returned and appreciated, was perhaps not unusual for the man whose roots were so deeply imbedded in the mainstream of humanity.

He viewed that stream as many, many individuals, working together for a common goal. He never regarded a regiment or a republic as a "mass of people," but rather as a very special selection of unique and important individuals. No wonder his troops, and later his countrymen, were so unstinting and unswerving in their loyalty to him, their affection for him.

He, of all the professionals in the U.S. Army, was the logical choice to lead that force of citizen-soldiers, that force of workers and farmers and clerks and businessmen, that was to liberate Europe from the Nazis and the Prussian officer-elite.

Ike's men knew that he was one of them, for all his training and high professional skill. They loved him—they followed him. Together they conquered.

#### THE YEARS IN THE WHITE HOUSE

General Eisenhower came to the White House a popular man, and he left it a popular man. Through 8 years of difficult decisions, through successes and reversals, he held the confidence of those that had selected him for their leader.

He was a brilliant administrator at the White House, just as he had been in Europe. The people wanted a respite from the agonies of war in Europe and war in Korea. They wanted quiet efficiency. He gave it to them.

Americans are like other peoples—they genuinely want to have confidence in



their President. Dwight David Eisenhower, the 34th President of the United States, provided a lifetime of leadership which inspired confidence.

No man will ever be called upon to render higher service to America—if she lasts 10,000 years.

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. RIVERS).

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, I associate myself with the noble sentiments of our beloved Speaker of the House. I would just like to observe about this great man Eisenhower a statement of Edwin Markham:

When he fell in whirlwind, he went down  
As when a lordly cedar, green with boughs,  
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills,  
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.

I doubt if we can think of one in the country who found as deep a place in the hearts and the love of America. He was truly a great man, a kindly man, a humble man.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. SAYLOR).

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, no finer tribute to the memory of our fallen leader can surpass the knowledge that whatever history says of his leadership—in war and peace—the people will affectionately remember him as "Ike."

He was never the textbook picture of the tough and austere military man; nor did he surround his presidency with the trappings of power as he could have. He was at heart a sincere, gregarious, and selfless public servant; and what he was at heart shown through to the American people. They knew that the man called "Ike" could be trusted implicitly.

The aura of power surrounded the man but it did not affect his presence. The feeling of command was there and yet no one could have divined to have been ordered. What sage could define the qualities of such leadership and charisma?

The country and the world will miss the man, but he left behind a memory of something more precious than a simple recall of his legion of accomplishments; he left us with a memory of an infectious smile.

The loss of that smile, with its ability to calm our fears, renew our strength, and uplift our spirits, is the greatest loss we suffer on the passing of Dwight David Eisenhower. It was a smile that came from the heart of a man who epitomized the great American dream. There was the knowledge from Ike's smile that he trusted people, and they returned that trust without bounds. It was, according to one writer, "the smile of sincerity in an age of contrivance."

That smile is physically gone now, but the place it holds in the hearts of the countrymen of Dwight David Eisenhower can never be replaced.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Ohio (Mr. WYLIE).

Mr. WYLIE. Mr. Speaker, as we today pay honor to a great American, I welcome the opportunity to record a personal experience with Gen. Dwight David Eisenhower. In it we find further evi-

dence of those great qualities which made him beloved as a leader in war as in peace.

This incident took place on March 23, 1945. The 30th Infantry Division, of which I was a member, was moving into position in preparation for a night attack across the Rhine River at Wessel, Germany. We had spent many hours practicing with assault crossings of the Maas River in Holland. We knew what we were to do. But the Rhine River was wider and the attack was to be at night under cover of darkness. In practice no one was trying to keep us from landing. Still assault boats had capsized and in one instance the occupants had drowned. So, we approached our task afraid that we might never see loved ones again. Then, the paratroopers started dropping behind enemy lines in great numbers from the sky. We sensed their mission was much more dangerous than ours but would certainly increase our chances of reaching the other side. Sporadic shell fire made us ill at ease and attested to the presence of the enemy and his intention to see that our mission failed. While we were there, marching gloomily in combat column, a staff car approached and stopped beside where I was walking. General Eisenhower stepped out. For a moment, I froze with apprehension. Then, I made a poor attempt to salute, which seemed the thing to do. The General extended his hand to shake mine, flashed his warm smile, and said—I think, "Hi soldier," although in the dramatics of the moment I cannot now be certain of his exact words. The general walked up and down the column shaking hands and encouraging his troops. He came, too, I am sure, to get a better look at the tactical situation. I remember distinctly saying to a buddy, "He shouldn't be here. Doesn't he know he is liable to be killed?" General Eisenhower was up with the troops risking his life but the inspiration his presence gave cannot be imagined. Later, I was to receive the Silver Star because our battalion commander, Lt. Col. Ernest Frankland, thought I performed my small part of that battle with extraordinary heroism. As I reflect, I am not inclined to acts which would warrant any such honor. If I deserve it, General Eisenhower deserved, at least, some of the credit. Two years ago many of us as freshman Congressmen visited with President Eisenhower at Camp David. We talked briefly about the Rhine River crossing.

Our Nation is sad because of the death of our great general and President. He was loved for his courage, warmth, and understanding. Yes; we are saddened, as a nation by his passing. Yet in his death, as in his life, we are caused to reflect on the heritage of our great country, the outstanding contributions of the great Dwight David Eisenhower and the necessity just now, as perhaps never before, for an extra effort to preserve our freedoms.

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Iowa (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, for the past several decades, it seems that

fame and notoriety has gone principally to those who accumulate great material wealth, commit some hideous crime, or have a reputation for abusing power or do the unusual. Many millions of Americans are honest and have a great desire to see justice but few become famous for having those attributes. General Eisenhower was one of those few. The loss of a man with worldwide fame for such characteristics is a great loss and the whole Nation and world suffers from such loss.

As Dwight David Eisenhower sleeps in the rotunda a few steps from here, the Nation mourns the loss of a truly great American, and I join those who extend their condolences to his family.

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. WINN. I thank the distinguished Speaker.

All the world is saddened by the death of Gen. Dwight David Eisenhower, a truly great yet humble man. The former President—who preferred to be called General after his retirement—probably will not go down in history as a politician's President, but rather as a true statesman, highly respected by the leaders of all nations of the world.

As a young Kansas Congressman, I was fortunate enough to meet personally with this great man, who grew up on the western prairie of Kansas, at his peaceful Gettysburg farm. His knowledge of both national and international affairs proved to be most helpful to me as a new Congressman.

Men of all political philosophies sought his counsel and guidance on matters of importance. And all succeeding Presidents have at one time or another turned to him for help.

To the end, this uncommon man was characterized by uncommon strength.

Mr. Speaker, at the Capitol today are 50 Kansas schoolchildren who are here to pay tribute to Dwight D. Eisenhower. They have brought with them a beautiful box of long-stemmed wheat from the great State of Kansas, as a symbol of their love for our wonderful former President. They are here in person to add this wheat to the many beautiful flowers covering the rotunda of this Capitol.

One of the sponsors of this Kansas group has written a poem which I should like to read to this distinguished body today. This poem was written by Barbara Hanna Gray and endorsed by the 50 schoolchildren from Kansas.

This poem reads as follows:

WHEAT: IN MEMORY OF DWIGHT DAVID  
EISENHOWER

(By Barbara Hanna Gray)

A shock of wheat—Ripened in the sun of a  
Kansas prairie, tendered gently there  
from small green sprout until tall and  
golden—unbent by the winds that  
blow hard.

A shock of wheat—Filled with the grain of a  
Kansas youth, harvested by God to  
feed His flocks with the bread of his  
life—unbent by the winds that blow  
hard.

A shock of wheat—Having borne its fruit  
must die to live anew, returning now  
to the promised land of everlasting  
life—unbent by the winds that blow  
hard.

Mr. McCORMACK. I now yield to the distinguished gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. EDMONDSON).

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, I brought my family to the Nation's Capital in January of 1953, at the beginning of the Eisenhower-Nixon administration.

As a freshman in the 83d Congress, I became acquainted for the first time with the warm, friendly, and genuine American who was to lead our country through most of the 1950's.

The impression I then received—of a man with a deep love for our country and a great respect for all his fellow citizens—was to continue for the 17 years which followed.

The opportunity to know the man and to appreciate his great character was one of the real treasures of my own years of public service.

Mr. Speaker, the Nation has lost one of its finest sons in the death of our beloved former President, Dwight David Eisenhower.

General Eisenhower was a soldier-patriot in the great American tradition—a worthy successor to George Washington and Andrew Jackson.

As commander of the Allied forces who liberated Europe from the tyranny of Nazi armed conquest, he was a crusader for freedom in one of history's most trying challenges to freedom.

Eisenhower leadership for freedom continued in the tumultuous years which followed World War II, as he united the NATO powers to halt the westward drive of another tyranny—that of Soviet communism lead by Stalin.

As President of the United States during the cold war years of the 1950's, Dwight Eisenhower continued to lead the free world in the quest for both freedom and peace.

As the acknowledged leader of free nations throughout the 1950's, President Eisenhower pledged the terrible power of the atom to the search for peace, in an address to the United Nations which inspired all the world.

When he completed his second term as President, he continued to serve his country, providing wise counsel and assistance to the three Presidents who have followed him—regardless of party affiliation.

A man who loved and served his country well, a man who was above partisan politics on the major questions of peace and war at all times, a man who was loved and respected by all Americans—that was Dwight David Eisenhower.

America has lost a great champion and a great leader. I join my colleagues in mourning our great loss.

Mr. McCORMACK. I now yield to the distinguished gentleman from New York (Mr. REID).

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished Speaker for yielding.

In the death of General Eisenhower America has lost our most widely loved public figure. General Eisenhower had very special qualities of humility, sincerity, spiritual conviction, and great human warmth. All of these animated his long service to his country.

I remember on more than one occasion his turning to friends and saying, "Well, the really educated member of the family is Milton." He always thought of the other person first, such as when he knew almost a year ago that his chances for the future were perhaps not the brightest. Then, he looked death in the face and he found it preferable. He said to a friend:

I have a pretty good idea as to what my chances are. I would like to go on living for as long as I can be useful to somebody, even though I know I am not going to set the world on fire at my age. But I had just as soon the end came now if to go on living means that I will be a burden to my family and tie up all those doctors who could be taking care of guys with a full life ahead of them.

Mr. Speaker, I think this deep and ingrained humility was uniquely characteristic of General Eisenhower.

Few will ever forget his broad smile and his capacity to inspire confidence and accomplishment—among both men and nations—whether it was before Normandy or during Europe's troubled days while NATO was being formed or in his dramatic "open skies" proposal at the Geneva summit, which no other American could have put forward with the same effectiveness. Indeed, his smile was capable of lighting up a nation here or overseas, as the great throngs that turned out to greet him illustrated so vividly. We felt better when we saw that smile—it was unique—it was a personal one, it was a humble one, and it called forth our deepest trust.

I also remember the period during the late 1940's and early 1950's when General Eisenhower had several opportunities to consider the nomination for the Presidency. Perhaps no other American in public life turned down such clear offers for the presidential nomination as forthrightly as he did.

I think the point that finally motivated him to accept the Republican nomination was his concern over the war in Korea and his desire to work for peace. He could not have forgiven himself had he sacrificed an opportunity to save the lives of young men and to truly serve the people of the country he so deeply loved; but it was not in his nature to seek the power of the Presidency.

Mr. Speaker, General Eisenhower certainly was one of the most successful commanders of a multinational alliance. He revitalized the Republican Party and thereby strengthened the two-party system. His character and ability certainly put to rest many thoughts of isolationism of prewar America.

He was responsible for many progressive steps to strengthen our domestic policies, whether they involved the establishment of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare or increases in social security. Neither will America forget that it was President Eisenhower who succeeded in passing the first civil rights bill since Reconstruction and warned of the dangers of the military-industrial complex.

All remember, I believe, his achievement in bringing peace to Korea. Surely history will record the unifying leadership he brought to America in the Presi-

dency following the divisive years of war overseas.

But his overriding concern in the Presidency was to work for a world of universal peace with justice. His unqualified support of the U.N. was fundamental. His leadership in the "atoms-for-peace" program in the Alliance for Progress, in progress toward a nonproliferation treaty, and for a détente with the Soviet Union remains basic to the future.

I was at the White House one day when the subject of nuclear weapons was raised. He looked out the window and said very simply that he was opposed to their use, and that there would be no such thing as the use of one tactical nuclear weapon, for any such action would inevitably invite a full nuclear exchange.

Certainly, Mr. Speaker, former President Eisenhower had a real spiritual quality, character and judgment, steadiness under pressure, and a complete honesty and sincerity about him. He inspired men to work together; he had total disdain for personal public comment; he was contemptuous of narrow partisan motives, and more than once rejected temporary political gain for the greater good of our country. Such a man brought stature and trust to the White House. He represented Americans, perhaps, more faithfully than any in our time. Certainly, he was loved and trusted both overseas and here. In a unique way his life will stand as an inspiration for all those who believe in character in government.

He was a great human being, and he will be judged kindly by future historians, not only for his positive accomplishments but indeed for those decisions which did not make the headlines, such as his refusal to be stamped into any commitment to Vietnam.

His life is a testament to public service, and of the highest traditions of America, and General Eisenhower now clearly belongs to the ages.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with all of the Members of the House in expressing our grief upon the passing of General Eisenhower, and I wish to express our deepest sympathy, that of Mrs. Reid and my mother, Helen Rogers Reid, to Mrs. Eisenhower, John Eisenhower, and all members of the family.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. PUCINSKI).

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, America today mourns the loss of one of her most noble sons. I deem it a great privilege to join with the Speaker and others in paying tribute to the memory of Dwight David Eisenhower.

Mr. Speaker, I like to think of Dwight D. Eisenhower in terms of three plateaus: first, as a military leader, he was without a peer. His greatest strength was his ability to bring people together. It was his genius as an organizer, as a persuader, as a mediator, and as a military tactician that helped put together the fantastic military machine that frustrated the designs of the Axis Powers upon the freedom of this country and the rest of the world.

I do not believe that even at this day



we realize the enormity of his accomplishments in pulling together divergent military views, in pulling together divergent military concepts, different equipment, different ideas, and welding them into one successful effort which brought victory and freedom to the world.

I believe that Dwight Eisenhower today deserves to be called the greatest military genius of our time.

Second, as President of the United States he had abiding faith in the rugged spirit of American individualism. Many of his critics have erroneously interpreted his stubborn refusal to plunge Government controls into every facet of our American life as a record of inaction. President Eisenhower in my judgment reflected the true spirit of Thomas Jefferson. He had a social consciousness. He realized things had to be done, and he wanted to move forward, but he also realized that the dignity of an individual is supreme in a free nation, and he wanted to let the individual do as much for himself as humanly possible.

President Eisenhower gave the country a great record to build on. In the ensuing years his successors have built upon that record. There is no question but that Mr. Eisenhower has made great contributions as President of this country.

Finally, Mr. Speaker, I believe his third great achievement was as an American in his farewell address when he warned the Nation against the military-industrial complex. Here was a man who had had occasion to observe first-handedly as a military leader and as the President of the United States the inherent dangers of permitting that sort of a combination to get out of hand. The enormity of his warning is best exemplified as we look today and see that some 200 American corporations have more than \$30 billion worth of Government contracts. The warning given us by President Eisenhower cannot go unheeded.

Mr. Speaker, I am not at all surprised that the political leaders of my own party exerted every effort to induce and persuade General Eisenhower to run on the Democratic ticket. Mr. Eisenhower would have been a great President on either party's ticket.

Nor am I at all surprised to learn that President Truman had designated him as his heir apparent, because we all have recognized Mr. Eisenhower's genius and his great dedication and his abiding faith in America.

Mr. Speaker, in paying tribute today to Dwight Eisenhower I would say that he gave majesty and nobility to the cause of public service. His conduct in public affairs leaves all of us in public office with a legacy we can proudly emulate.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Pucinski joins me in extending and expressing our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Eisenhower, the entire Eisenhower family, and, yes, to all Americans who today mourn his passing.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I now yield to the distinguished gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CEDERBERG).

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to join my colleagues today in paying respect to the memory of General Eisenhower. Many of us in this body had the honor of serving under his command in Europe during World War II, and I

recall those days as well. I was division headquarters company commander of the 83d Division.

The first time I saw the general was shortly after the invasion when he visited our division headquarters and on several occasions after that he visited our division.

As a junior officer I had the privilege of being in the division war room when he was conferring with the senior officers of the division. At no time did he ever fail to inquire about the troops of the division. He always was concerned about their welfare—were they getting enough food, were they getting the proper clothes. This was a man who was not only a great general but also a great humanitarian.

Then shortly after the war, many of us had the honor of entering into public service in the Congress at the same time he became President of the United States. We still have a number here on both sides of the aisle who came in as Members of the 83d Congress in 1953. We can recall our visits with him during those years. He understood the role of the Congress and respected it.

Mr. Speaker, I think that when history writes the record of General Eisenhower, that record is going to be one of great achievement both in war and in peace. He was a man who really cherished freedom—and a man who hated war.

He never hesitated to take such action as was necessary to preserve our Nation. The world has lost a great leader but his inspiration will live on forever.

Mrs. Cederberg and I extend our deepest sympathy to the Eisenhower family.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from West Virginia (Mr. HECHLER).

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. CEDERBERG), the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. WYLIE), and others have called attention to the large number of Members of Congress who served under General Eisenhower when he was commander of the European theater of operations during World War II.

The qualities of General Eisenhower's leadership as commander were manifest in the planning and launching of the great invasion of Normandy as well as in many other ways.

I would like to call attention to something that General Eisenhower wrote in "Crusade in Europe" and what he described as "one of my happy moments of the war." When he received the news of the first crossing of the Rhine at Remagen, Germany, General Eisenhower capitalized on this great event which materially shortened the war in Europe. He wrote this about the Remagen Bridge capture:

This news was reported to Bradley. It happened that a SHAEF staff officer was in Bradley's headquarters when the news arrived, and a discussion at once took place as to the amount of force that should be pushed across the bridge. If the bridgehead force was too small it would be destroyed through a quick concentration of German strength on the east side of the river. On the other hand, Bradley realized that if he threw a large force across he might interfere with further development of my basic plan. Bradley instantly telephoned me.

I was at dinner in my Reims headquarters with the corps and division commanders of the American airborne forces when Bradley's call came through. When he reported that we had a permanent bridge across the Rhine I could scarcely believe my ears. He and I had frequently discussed such a development as a remote possibility but never as a well-founded hope.

I fairly shouted into the telephone: "How much have you got in that vicinity that you can throw across the river?"

He said, "I have more than four divisions but I called you to make sure that pushing them over would not interfere with your plans."

I replied, "Well, Brad, we expected to have that many divisions tied up around Cologne and now those are free. Go ahead and shove over at least five divisions instantly, and anything else that is necessary to make certain of our hold."

His answer came over the phone with a distinct tone of glee: "That's exactly what I wanted to do but the question had been raised here about conflict with your plans, and I wanted to check with you."

That was one of my happy moments of the war. Broad success in war is usually foreseen by days or weeks, with the result that when it actually arrives higher commanders and staffs have discounted it and are immersed in plans for the future. This was completely unforeseen. We were across the Rhine, on a permanent bridge; the traditional defensive barrier to the heart of Germany was pierced. The final defeat of the enemy, which we had long calculated would be accomplished in the spring and summer campaigning of 1945, was suddenly now in our minds, just around the corner.

My guests at the dinner table were infected by my enthusiasm. Among them were veterans of successful aerial jumps against the enemy and of hard fighting in every kind of situation. They were unanimous in their happy predictions of an early end to the war. I am sure that from that moment every one of them went into battle with the élan that comes from the joyous certainty of smashing victory.

Ten years after that event, President Eisenhower assembled at the White House the heroes of that event and he told them on March 7, 1955:

Gentlemen, I have asked you to come here this morning because you know old soldiers' minds are bound to turn back once in a while to dramatic events of war—particularly of the kind that took place at the Remagen bridgehead.

Now, of course, that was not the biggest battle that ever was, but for me it always typified one thing: the dash, the ingenuity, the readiness at the first opportunity that characterizes the American soldier.

That was one of the qualities of leadership of General Eisenhower when he commanded our troops in Europe.

I would like to quote also briefly from the very last words in General Eisenhower's book "Crusade in Europe," words that mean a great deal in terms of his basic philosophy:

We believe in individual liberty, rooted in human dignity, is man's greatest treasure.

If the men and women of America face this issue as squarely and bravely as their soldiers faced the terrors of battle in World War II, we would have no fear of the outcome. If they will unite themselves as firmly as they did when they provided, with their allies in Europe, the mightiest fighting force of all time, there is no temporal power that can dare challenge them. If they can retain the moral integrity, the clarity of comprehension, and the readiness to sacrifice that finally crushed the Axis, then the Free World will live and prosper, and all peoples, even-

tually will reach a level of culture, contentment, and security that has never before been achieved.

That was Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois (Mr. MICHEL).

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, it was my good fortune also to serve under the leadership of General Eisenhower, both militarily and in civilian life; first as an infantryman from Omaha Beach to the Ruhr River in Germany during World War II and subsequently in Congress during his Presidency.

Among the exchanges of correspondence I have had with General Eisenhower, the first was a letter dating back nearly 20 years, which I have prized very much, for it was written at a time when there was considerable talk of his running for President while serving as President of Columbia University.

President Nixon in his eulogy made several references to Dwight Eisenhower's coming from the "heart of America" and the subject of my first exchange of letters with General Eisenhower had to do with my hope in any political ambitions he might have that he would never forget his midwest heritage.

While his first letter to me dated November 16, 1949, said in part:

So far as any personal politics may be concerned . . . I have not changed my mind in the slightest degree.

We are all so grateful and so much better off for his having reassessed the situation and changed his mind.

His 8-year administration was indeed a period of calm and tranquillity accompanied by significant progress in all levels of national life. We long and yearn for similar days in the new administration.

Of all the millions of words written about General Eisenhower I believe the true measure of the man was captured as well as anything I have seen by Mr. Hugh Sidey, writing in the August 17, 1968, edition of Life magazine. He said:

There are even those who dare to suggest that his soothing spirit, the innate goodness of the man himself, did more to lift up the hearts of Americans and hold them together in a reasonable state of public happiness than many of the social reforms that have been propounded since.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the full text of the letter from Dwight Eisenhower, referred to before, and Mr. Hugh Sidey's article be included with my remarks at this point in the RECORD.

I extend our profound sympathy to Mrs. Eisenhower and all the members of the family whom he loved so much as he always loved his country.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MORGAN). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

The letter and article are as follows:

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,

New York, N.Y., November 16, 1949.

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL,  
Representative in Congress,  
Peoria, Ill.

DEAR MR. MICHEL: It is always nice to hear from an old soldier, particularly one who served in the Infantry, my old arm. Addi-

tionally, of course, I must thank you for the very great compliments paid me in your letter of the 12th.

While it is obviously necessary that, so long as I am connected with Columbia University, I be officially classed as an "Easterner," it is equally true that the roots of my family and my life are buried too deep in the West for me to ever think of myself as anything but a mid-Westerner.

I assure you, though, that these facts have no implications of any kind in the political world—at least so far as any personal politics may be concerned. I have earnestly and honestly tried to make my own position clear about these matters, and I assure you I have not changed my mind in the slightest degree.

With best wishes to a former comrade of ETO.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

THE PRESIDENCY—THE SMILE OF SINCERITY IN AN AGE OF CONTRIVANCE

(By Hugh Sidey)

Dwight Eisenhower came into the living rooms of 30 million Americans the other night, and he was old and bald and he used a TelePrompTer and still flubbed a few of his lines, but there was more power in his 10-minute appeal than in any of the presidential political oratory of the past 12 months. And it may be that the effort to make his talk brought on the heart attack that has him seriously ill.

It has been one of those mysteries of national life why all the would-be Presidents (and President) who have been frantically searching for some formula to catapult them to the heights of popularity have failed to study the example of Eisenhower. Perhaps in this age of contrivance it is too simple to be believed—decency, sincerity and honesty. It shines out of Ike like a beacon, and it should give those in the political business some pause. Because it illustrates anew that all the programs espoused and the bills passed and the billions spent are only a part of this thing of being President and maybe even the lesser part in a time of dispirited affluence.

It should be of some significance that while almost everybody else was engaged in a season of shifting views, cloaked opinions, denials of internal trouble and even espousal of the right of a government to lie to its people, the steady virtue of Eisenhower raised him to a new pedestal while all those others fell lower. He was polled the most admired man in the nation last year and probably ranks as high today. There is some kind of hunger there. Even among the unwashed and on the campus, the cry is for candor and compassion, which is the same thing.

Lyndon Johnson has used an inordinate amount of his time and energy raising monuments to his own greatness, and all the while his esteem has slipped. Ike's self-promotion runs at such a low voltage as to be undiscernible. He still acts a little embarrassed at new honors. He still wonders why people care—and that only intensifies the phenomenon. A while back in his modest office on the corner of the Gettysburg College campus he marveled at this public. He didn't have an unusually big nose or extraordinary ears or any other physical features that made him easily identifiable, he explained. Yet, there he had been in New York in the back of an unmarked limousine, almost out of sight, and as he drove down the street, "the darndest thing happened. People leaned out and yelled, 'Hello, Ike.' How did they know who I was?"

While all the candidates from Reagan to McCarthy diagnosed in detail the national ailments, Ike maintained a hearty belief that it was a fever, and the body was fundamentally sound. He could beat any of them in a runoff. While the scowl has become the symbol of this season's stump (with the exception of Hubert Humphrey), there has been that enduring smile of Eisenhower's

that reached more men's hearts than social security. There is the feeling from Ike that he trusts people and they return it in spades. He has confessed that it would be nice sometime to take Mamie and go to the Metropolitan Museum and "just drift through it without having to shake hands or sign an autograph." But, says Ike, with a chuckle, whenever he brings up that complaint (one of the few anybody has heard him make about his lot in life), Mamie turns to him and says, "How would you like it if they all disliked you?"

In these days of rebellion against order, Ike has been more than ever conscious of the example he must set, which is another of those unmeasurable qualities that go into leadership and has been missing on occasion with the men now in the ring. Eisenhower confesses a liking for horses and horse racing, and yet he has scrupulously limited himself to one appearance at the track each year, simply because he believes that that is enough for a man who is held in the public gaze.

There are a lot of people who still feel that Ike never really understood his job of being President. Yet today his commonsense observations about the Presidency are more cogent than a lot of the other talk. He, for instance, does not like the disuse of the Cabinet and the National Security Council in the executive branch and the resulting deep personalization of the Presidency. "You need," he says, "bitterly debated advice and conflicting considerations." The frantic pace of today's Presidency has also disturbed him. He played golf, yes, but the business was never out of his mind. "A President has got to have time to think about his main problems." There are a growing number of presidential observers who endorse that need.

He feels that the heads of the great Federal departments, should have more far-reaching power in setting up their staffs. He feels that the momentum of the big bureaucracies tends to sweep the Cabinet officers right along with them, and these men are often almost powerless to combat the system which grows bigger when it is obvious that in some ways it should grow smaller. This is the theme song now of all the candidates.

So far the historians have not ranked Eisenhower very high in the presidential legend. But there is growing conviction that the measure of the man himself may be more of a factor in the national life than anyone has been willing to admit before. Ike has not been referred to as a top-drawer expediter, one who knew the machinery of government, but there are hints that the traditional assessment of those qualities may be outdated and inaccurate. The eight years of relative world calm under Ike, achieved without losing any territory or much prestige, have taken on new importance. There are even those who dare suggest that his soothing spirit, the innate goodness of the man himself, did more to lift up the hearts of Americans and hold them together in a reasonable state of public happiness than many of the social reforms that have been propounded since.

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Colorado.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the distinguished Speaker yielding to me so I may join with other Members in mourning the passing of our late President and general, Dwight David Eisenhower.

This is a significant day in which to pay tribute to a man who had his roots in my congressional district. In fact, he was married to Mamie in Denver, Colo., and after that Denver was his second home. Throughout the years before he became prominent as a forthright leader of the Nation, he spent many years and days in the city and county of Denver. It was



during that period of time that those he came in contact with learned to know and love him. They appreciated the fact that he had the spirit and the fairness and the understanding that are not as well attributed to all men as they were to Ike.

After he became famous, so to speak, when he led our armies in Western Europe to victory and then he returned to the United States, he came back to Denver, Colo. Once again, General Eisenhower enjoyed the respect and honor and leadership that he so well deserves.

We in Denver express our thoughts this moment to the family and mourn the loss of his leadership. I express my sympathy to Mrs. Eisenhower and the family. I know his death is a great loss to the Nation, and particularly it is a great loss to the people of my district.

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from California.

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, I express my gratitude to the Speaker for yielding to me, and also for taking the lead in expressing eulogies and giving us the opportunity to express our personal eulogies for our former President, Dwight David Eisenhower.

Dwight David Eisenhower, 34th President of the United States and General of the Armies, is dead, and like millions of Americans and people throughout the world, I deeply mourn his passing.

Whenever I think of President Eisenhower, the words "warm" and "human" immediately come to my mind. Will Americans ever forget that big grin—the smile, known around the world, which genuinely reflected his warm personality.

When I first met this great, dedicated, and devoted American, I was overwhelmed by his down-to-earth sincerity. Being in his presence gave me renewed confidence and faith in the goodness of unselfish public service. Having met him in person, one soon realized that he had just met greatness.

Now America has lost its most distinguished elder statesman and the world has lost one of the truly great men of the 20th century.

Dwight Eisenhower was a professional, career soldier who spoke of war as "this damnable thing." He led a great military crusade that saved Western Europe and the free world from tyranny, yet warned of the creation of a "military-industrial complex" in America.

President Eisenhower always spoke of the "greatness of America" and the "strength of the American people." He was not a flamboyant man or a great wit, but he was genuinely liked—even by his political and philosophical opponents.

Dwight Eisenhower has been called a national hero, a leader in war, a crusader for peace—and it is true; he was all of these things. But more important, he was a humble man who was called to greatness by those who recognized in him that rare quality of leadership that makes some men stand taller than others.

As a military figure, he was not a great authoritarian, or a disciplinarian. Instead, he inspired men by his example

and by his logic. He had a unique ability for drawing people together in a common cause and welding them into the most awesome and proficient military armada ever assembled.

As our President, he brought to this great Nation something it desperately needed—unity, purpose, and a sense of direction. Whether they voted for him or not, most Americans were proud of Dwight Eisenhower and felt a measure of security while he was in the White House.

In the twilight of his life, "Ike" displayed the same courage and tenacity that he had reflected on the battlefield and in the quiet counsels of the Presidency. I have never known a man to survive seven heart attacks and so many other medical complications and still maintain that keen insight into the future or that illuminating awareness of history that "Ike" held to the end.

In my judgment, leadership is the ability to influence human behavior, and it was for this reason, I believe, that people trusted "Ike." They trusted him with the lives of their sons in war, and with their own destinies as our President.

Though he was trained as a soldier, "Ike" was truly a man of peace.

Dwight David Eisenhower will go down in history as a humble man who responded to the call of his country in its time of greatest need—not once or twice, but whenever the need arose.

(Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Indiana (Mr. JACOBS).

Mr. JACOBS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the Speaker for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, General Eisenhower helped us win a war that could not be avoided and kept us out of several that could. In this dangerous world, no public service could be more beneficial nor earn higher marks in history. General Eisenhower has earned his greatness.

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Idaho.

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho. Mr. Speaker, I thank the distinguished Speaker for yielding to me.

The people of Idaho join with the millions of Americans across this land and, indeed, the millions in other lands in mourning the death of a great leader, Dwight David Eisenhower, and in paying tribute to his memory.

I shall never forget the first time I met General Eisenhower. It was at the convention in Chicago in 1952, a short time before he was nominated to be President of the United States. I had the feeling at the time that I was meeting one of the great men of history. General Eisenhower had completed a career of distinguished service to his country as a soldier. He was about to enter upon the period of his greatest service to our country as one of its most beloved statesmen. On the occasion of this first meeting, General Eisenhower's personal warmth, his infectious smile, and the twinkle in his eye made a profound impression on me.

The pleasure of my first meeting with

General Eisenhower was matched by the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Eisenhower on the same occasion. Her friendliness, her warmth, and great charm are among the qualities that have marked Mrs. Eisenhower as one of the truly great ladies of American history.

President Eisenhower honored the people of the State of Idaho by paying us a visit in 1962, when he was accorded a welcome that reflected the depth of the love and respect that the people of Idaho bear for him.

General Eisenhower was a distinguished soldier and military leader, but was also passionately devoted to the cause of peace. He dedicated all of the energy and strength he could command to the task of building an enduring world peace.

General Eisenhower's life exemplified the best in America. Because of him, all Americans stand a bit taller. All of us feel prouder of ourselves and of our country. He had a deep belief in the American dream, a faith in God and in the future of our country.

He was a leader of great strength and toughness. Yet, he was kind, gentle, compassionate, and understanding.

The high principles and purposes that motivated General Eisenhower are reflected in his speech to the men and women of the Allied Expeditionary Force at the end of his great crusade in Europe. I quote from the closing sentences of his address:

Each of the fallen died as a member of the team to which you belong, bound together by a common love of liberty and a refusal to submit to enslavement. No monument of stone, no memorial of whatever magnitude could so well express our respect and veneration for their sacrifice as would perpetuation of the spirit of comradeship in which they died. As we celebrate victory in Europe, let us remind ourselves that our common problems of the immediate and distant future can be best solved in the same conceptions of cooperation and devotion to the cause of human freedom as have made this Expeditionary Force such a mighty engine of righteous destruction. Let us have no part in the profitless quarrels in which other men will inevitably engage as to what country, what service, won the European war.

Every man, every woman of every nation here represented has served according to his or her ability, and the efforts of each have contributed to the outcome. This we shall remember—and in doing so we shall be revering each honored grave and be sending comfort to the loved ones of comrades who could not live to see this day.

Mr. Speaker, we have lost a great leader. But as we face the challenge of the future to carry on the work which was so effectively advanced by Dwight David Eisenhower during his lifetime we can, if we will, continue to draw strength, inspiration, and guidance from the life and service of this dedicated American. We can best honor his memory by learning and applying in our own public service the great lessons he has taught us.

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Alabama (Mr. BEVILL).

Mr. BEVILL. I thank the Speaker for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened by the death of that great American, former President Dwight David Eisen-

hower. I join all Americans and citizens throughout the world in extending my deepest sympathy to the Eisenhower family.

The light of liberty burns brighter and the strength of our Nation is far more secure today because we were fortunate enough to have had the services of General Eisenhower.

There are no words adequate to express the love and admiration held in the hearts of all Americans for the general. Many of us were privileged to serve under General Eisenhower in the European theater during World War II.

Occasionally an individual comes along who possesses a rare quality of leadership, an insight into life, and the needs and aspirations of our people. General Eisenhower was such a man.

An individual destined to take his place as one of the great military leaders of all times, General Eisenhower was a man of peace, an individual destined to become one of his country's greatest Presidents. General Eisenhower knew when to stand strong and firm for freedom.

He brought to public life a spirit of American know-how and dedication unexcelled in our generation.

A man of the people, General Eisenhower was raised in the simple, dignified tradition which molded the life of another great American, Abraham Lincoln. He lived close to the earth, and like Lincoln, received strength from it.

From the beginning, General Eisenhower was destined to carry on his shoulders the responsibilities of a growing, thriving, sometimes troubled nation. And he never shirked these responsibilities.

Throughout his illustrious career, General Eisenhower maintained the bearing of a patient, persistent worker for every American. Indeed, he leaves behind a legacy of service to his country which will enrich the lives of generations to come.

Perhaps no greater tribute can be paid to General Eisenhower than to say that "Ike" will be missed by those who love freedom and believe in the dignity of man.

Mr. McCORMACK. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Utah (Mr. LLOYD).

Mr. LLOYD. I thank the Speaker for yielding to me.

In behalf of the citizens of my Second Congressional District in Utah, I rise to pay tribute to one of the greatest of all Americans.

Dwight Eisenhower represented the American ideal. As someone has said over this weekend, he was the kind of man the American father wants his son to grow up to be.

Except for the far left or pretentiously sophisticated writers, who find something "square" about traditional virtues, the tributes to this authentic American hero have expressed the heart of America, as President Nixon said yesterday, that General Eisenhower himself represented the heart of America.

I was privileged to visit with our former President on two occasions in 1967. The first with the 90th Club of

Republican freshmen. He greeted us at his home in Gettysburg from where we went to a quiet picnic grove adjacent to a canyon stream. There the general sat down with us and ate a steak and baked bean lunch from a paper plate, showing his personal consideration for our welfare by his every move and expression, and then we had the rare privilege of listening to him answering our questions for nearly an hour. I was struck by the clarity of his mind and by the clarity of his words and by his intellectual articulation of basic knowledge and basic truth.

Later with a Republican task force on Western alliances, we visited with him in his office on the campus at Gettysburg College. Around luncheon tables, he discussed with us his convictions in the field of foreign relations. Again I was struck by his modesty, the simplicity of his movements, the clarity and force of his expressions, and his constant consideration for those of us around him.

It is said that he was not a politician. However, he believed and expressed something very basic which the Members of this Congress and the American people should remember. He said that what was best for this country would prove to be the best politics. So, in a day when some use the word "statesman" in derision and glorify political cleverness, the constancy and the patriotism of Dwight David Eisenhower stands out monumentally.

It was our good fortune as Americans, that Dwight Eisenhower was granted the years to complete his work and he passes to eternal glory with the love, the gratitude, the reverence, and the eternal respect of the American people.

Sentiments of Utahans are expressed in editorials from the Salt Lake Tribune and the Deseret News, which follow:

[From the Deseret News, Salt Lake City, Utah, Mar. 28, 1969]

#### WHY AMERICANS WILL ALWAYS LIKE IKE

As a sorrowing nation mourns the passing of one of its greatest and most beloved leaders, there is little to be said about Dwight David Eisenhower that has not only been said before but repeated frequently.

From his early years as a Kansas farm boy to his rise from an obscure lieutenant to become supreme commander of the Allied forces that smashed Hitler's "fortress Europe," from his stint as President of Columbia University to his accomplishments as the first Republican President of the United States in 20 years, and his public services after leaving the White House, the life of Ike Eisenhower has been thoroughly chronicled as have few others.

No words can add or detract from his accomplishments, or the honors bestowed upon him all over the world. Nor can words enhance the love or ease the sadness that his countrymen feel at his demise.

As Americans reflect upon the life and works of this remarkable soldier, statesman, and leader, they would do well to ask why he won not only the admiration but also the respect of so many people in all walks of life.

Was it because Dwight D. Eisenhower was a fatherly figure to the entire country—firm but kind? Was it because he had the "common touch," being a man of simple tastes? Was it because he genuinely liked people—and they responded in kind? Was it because of his undeniable sincerity as a man of peace? Was it his clear-cut integrity?

No doubt these and many other well known aspects of Dwight Eisenhower's personality help explain his amazingly intense, widespread and enduring popularity.

But there is one facet of his character that has been generally neglected, but which speaks volumes about the man. It was a facet that was touched on in a thumbnail sketch written two years ago by Bryce N. Harlow, one of Eisenhower's closest aides during his eight years in the White House who observed:

"Take the attributes you consider the most admirable in the people you know, put them in a mixer, and you'll come up with the Eisenhower blend."

"He is vitality and power and force—yet he is profoundly sensitive to the needs and feelings of others. He dominates the people around him—yet eagerly solicits their advice and readily acknowledges error. He has great dignity and reserve, reflecting a quarter century of command and association with world leaders—yet he transforms instantly into 'Ike of Kansas' with a school-boy grin radiating amiability and warmth and the friendliness of a cocker spaniel."

"He has had the adulation of people all over the world for two decades and more—yet is humble to the point of being self-effacing. He detests the perpendicular pronoun, and has scratched out hundreds of 'I's' from speech drafts. Many of his political speeches have ended up almost sterile because of his dislike of blowing his own horn."

"During all of his White House days he forbade the use of the word 'my' before 'Cabinet,' insisting that the prestigious institution should always be called 'The Cabinet.'"

"One of his favorite admonitions is, 'Always consider your job important, never yourself.' In 1942 in North Africa, General Marshall asked him what is the most important attribute of a leader. His answer was selflessness."

Whatever history records of Dwight David Eisenhower's accomplishments as a soldier and statesman, the record will not be complete without his accomplishments as a man and the inspiration he provided in helping Americans live better lives of service and devotion to their country.

[From the Salt Lake (Utah) Tribune, Mar. 29, 1969]

#### A MAN FOR HIS TIMES

Often in this fortunate country's history the right man has come forth in times of national need. Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower was such a man.

During World War II he rose from relative obscurity to plan, then execute, the invasion of Hitler's Fortress Europe. In 1952, when Americans were frustrated and bogged down in a seemingly fruitless and unwanted war in Korea, he agreed to seek the Presidency if given a "clear call to political duty." Republican leaders saw to it that the call was forthcoming and General Eisenhower, then serving as Supreme Commander of the new North Atlantic Treaty Organization forces, answered without further hesitation.

Americans of all political persuasions turned to the former general in hope that his international prestige could restore and preserve peace and bring on the good life. To a remarkable degree these hopes were realized. The 8 Eisenhower years, though frayed at times by tense international incidents, were, in the overall, good ones.

His death Friday at the age of 78 will be mourned as one mourns the passing of a kindly relative who saw the family through troubled times in other years that now seem almost placid by comparison.

Though he was coaxed into politics and never practiced that art in the usual fashion, General Eisenhower was nevertheless reluctant to cut political ties after stepping



down. He continued active in Republican affairs and spoke out frequently in criticism—and sometimes support—of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations that followed. He took a hand in reknitting the Republican Party, which strayed from his more liberal concepts and came to disaster in the Goldwater debacle of 1964. His last public utterance was addressed to the party, revitalized and then meeting in convention in Miami Beach, last August.

History has yet to pronounce its verdict on Eisenhower the general or on Eisenhower the President. Criticisms of both roles have been made by knowledgeable persons of high repute and these must be weighed. But Eisenhower of the infectious grin and fatherly aura must be audited in the abstract.

His greatness lay in his ability to instill in millions of people here and abroad the feeling that the world's mightiest power was in responsible hands and that all was well. Though hampered by illness and pressed by mounting crises that eventually eroded some confidence in his leadership, Dwight Eisenhower made good that trust. The America he handed over to John F. Kennedy was by no means perfect, but it had been calmed and rested and made ready to withstand the upheavals that have visited it since.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower's work has been finished. He has written his record. It is a brilliant and moving record. The Nation and the world are now appending the closing chapters to the biography of Dwight David Eisenhower who, in the eloquent words of President Nixon on yesterday, was one of the giants of our time. Thomas Carlyle said that the history of the world is but the biography of its great men.

It was not my good fortune to know the late President as intimately as some, but I had the privilege of many interesting associations with him, and I counted him as my personal friend. My official relations with him often came about through my chairmanship of the Subcommittee on Defense Appropriations. He was always forthright and cooperative. He had a genius for getting to the heart of the proposition and making his views clearly understood.

The late President Eisenhower was blessed with a richness of personal qualities that make great men greater—qualities that find a permanent home not only in the hearts of his countrymen but of people everywhere. Unimpeachable character and integrity, great depth of sincerity, love of liberty and country, and devotion to the service of the common good were among the shining precepts of the personal coat of arms of this unpretentious man.

A victor in so many battles even in the last days, it is hard to realize that the late President is no longer here. He was so permanent, so enduring, so indestructible throughout his long years.

All of us who have been associated with him in official matters, on the golf course, and otherwise will treasure the memory of our experiences and be glad that we had the opportunity of knowing a man of his stature. Surely his life and work will be widely noted and long remembered by this and coming generations.

May the Lord bless his memory and give strength and comfort to Mrs. Eisenhower and family and others of his loved ones.

Mr. MORGAN. Mr. Speaker, in the passing of Dwight D. Eisenhower one of our greatest statesmen and national heroes has joined the ranks of the immortals. The pages of our history as a people and a nation have a special luster imparted by his life and deeds.

I shall always cherish the memories of my association and friendship with Dwight Eisenhower. He was a man to inspire respect, confidence, and admiration as well as friendship. These he won in large measure from me and from my colleagues on the Committee on Foreign Affairs in the days when he used to testify and assist us obtaining information we needed on foreign policy matters involving military aid to our allies.

These sentiments were confirmed and strengthened when he became our President. His stature as a dedicated public servant transcended politics and he retained the affection and esteem he had won during his military career.

It is sad to meditate on his passing, because it is a deep and grievous loss to his family and friends, and also in a very real way to all of us. At the same time, our grief is tempered by our gratitude and deep sense of appreciation for all that Dwight Eisenhower accomplished for his country and his fellow man.

During the war, Dwight Eisenhower led the greatest forces in mankind's history. In peace, he held the highest office in our land. His true greatness did not stem from holding these high posts. I agree with those who knew him best, that his real greatness was due to his unique personal qualities which fitted him to be the greatest hero of our time. In making these brief remarks I join my fellow Americans in saluting and paying tribute to a patriot whose devotion to our well-being has helped shape the course of war and of peace so that our Nation could survive and prosper.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I am profoundly saddened by the death of Dwight David Eisenhower, one of this Nation's greatest leaders and one of its most acclaimed public figures.

I had the honor of being elected to Congress in 1952, the year General Eisenhower was elected President. My admiration of him increased during these years as I witnessed Dwight Eisenhower's unyielding courage, high integrity, abiding faith in his fellow man, and his quest for world peace.

General Eisenhower's historic record of achievement is, in a sense, this Nation's record of achievement for the past three decades.

Chief architect of the Allied effort that rescued Europe in World War II, leader of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 34th President of the United States for two terms, counselor to succeeding Presidents, Dwight David Eisenhower led our Nation through one of the stormiest periods in its history.

He was not afraid to show hope instead of despair, faith instead of cynicism, honest toll instead of idle talk. He was a good and compassionate man whose words and deeds were an inspiration to all Americans and millions of people throughout the free world.

Dwight David Eisenhower embodied

all that is best in American life. Through sheer hard work and determination he brought himself from humble beginnings to the pinnacle of success.

Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in extending my heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower, and son, Ambassador John Eisenhower.

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, Dwight David Eisenhower occupied, even before his death, a very special position in the hearts of his countrymen, and now that his gallant soul has reached the haven of eternal peace, it is our duty and our right to claim him for posterity as the very symbol of what it means to be an American. It is necessary to use the phrase, "a self-made man," in the best possible sense of that term because he rose to great position from a home of average circumstances through the application of hard work and the intelligent use of the opportunity afforded to all young men in our democratic society—remember that his career in the public service started with a highly competitive examination for the military academies. His character was well nurtured and formed in the midst of a family that believed deeply in God Almighty, in what we have come to call the American dream, and in the power, dignity, and integrity of the individual person, in that order though dependent one upon the other. This noble character was the source from which Dwight Eisenhower derived his strength and the abilities that were later to lead his Nation through years of strife, when our future as a free people was in critical balance.

Let us not forget that Dwight Eisenhower gave superior and loyal service and invaluable advice and counsel to Presidents Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman, and that under their administrations he became a legend in his lifetime. As President for 8 succeeding years, he achieved a serenity and balance which enabled him to implement his basic belief and faith in our democratic institutions. Indeed his wisdom and thorough experience in every facet of the administrative process, and his tremendous gift for leadership, engendered a trust and confidence among all Americans that is unique in the history of our Presidents. Almost to the hour of his passing, his inspired guidance was significant to the course of our Government.

Possibly the most sincere indication of his concern for the continued well-being of his fellow citizens was the admonition in his farewell address that—

We must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist.

Coming from a man who had spent so many years with the military his warning was indeed a splendidly independent and objective guidepost—in itself it was a great and significant service to his fellow Americans; a statement worthy of the respect, admiration, and affection given to him without stint by millions of Americans and by the many millions in other countries who revere

his memory as the architect of world peace and stability.

In this time of deep sadness, I join with my colleagues in expressing my heartfelt sympathy to his wonderful and gracious wife, Mamie, who shared his burdens and his triumphs, and to the other much beloved members of his family. For them the sharp pain of personal loss is greatest, but all Americans share in their grief, for this was a man much loved by all people. He, more than any man of our century, fits the often-quoted description of our first President, George Washington, for in his time, Dwight David Eisenhower was also "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." Truly, we shall miss this great American champion whose spirit is now and forever with all people and all lands as a resplendent symbol of the United States of America.

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, I stand on the floor of the House of Representatives as a spokesman for all the people of Summit County. On the subject of the qualities of Dwight David Eisenhower, we are unanimous in our homage. We well understood this great man of our own Midwest. As often as I met with him, I told him of the support our people gave his successful efforts to make us a land of peace.

The great man that he chose to succeed him in the Presidency, President Nixon, closed his eulogy of General Eisenhower by stating:

We salute Dwight David Eisenhower standing there in our memory—first in war, first in peace and wherever freedom is cherished, first in the hearts of his fellow men.

As the Representative of the 14th Ohio District, to Mamie Eisenhower and her family, I wish to express our deepest sorrow at their great loss. We are grateful to them for having shared Dwight David Eisenhower with us.

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, I join my fellow Americans and the world in mourning the death of General Eisenhower, the 34th President of the United States.

Dwight D. Eisenhower will return to his midwestern plains boyhood home after a full life, but, as described in his own words, one with "his work unfinished." Indeed, the work of the world is unfinished. His death reminds us all of the test we have before us and stresses the point that each of us must become involved if we are to count our accomplishments to this end. He was involved. He encouraged not only those around him, but all people to do the same.

Throughout his endeavors in war, peace, and politics, he was not one to lose sight of his beginnings. He had grown to appreciate the honesty and integrity of those who had surrounded his boyhood life. He was a man to be trusted and he served as an example of the virtue of our way of life. He was typically American, and yet perhaps as Rev. Billy Graham recently said, "the greatest American since Lincoln."

Mr. LUKENS. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues in paying tribute to a truly great American.

On Friday, March 28, 1969, at 12:25 p.m. the world suffered a great loss—

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former President Dwight David Eisenhower became history.

There will be many eulogies and documentaries as well as perhaps a few books. Yet, in all this, it will be nearly impossible to express the true nature of this beloved mortal. A man of great dignity who had the respect of his fellow man, he rarely found it necessary to command it. Although greatly respected, we warmly referred to him as "Ike" as readily as if he were our closest acquaintance. Surely, "Ike" felt this way about the people who chose him as their leader, as well as the rest of the human race which was also captivated and influenced by his statesmanship.

Dwight Eisenhower was a warrior but also a peace-loving man, a political leader and a statesman, an intellectual and a firm believer in his fellow man. He was a Christian who had a keen sense of justice and who would act in a just manner; he had unlimited courage.

He will be remembered for his controversial directing of Federal forces into a city of this country to enforce what he considered to be justice. This demanded a tremendous amount of courage. As general he used every ounce of courage, physical strength, and mentality to defend this country and all people of the world from an aggressive nation. As supreme commander of Allied Expeditionary Forces, he accepted the unconditional surrender of Germany. As President he alone brought peace in Korea. History now shows that he was at this very time fully prepared to again defend this Nation and the world if necessary.

At a time when the military leadership of this Nation is coming under heavier and heavier attack, it is well to remember that one of the greatest military geniuses of our time was a proven man of peace. For eight years under his administration we experienced our longest period of peace since World War II.

Throughout his life he practiced strength and proper use of strength which was clearly illustrated when he ordered our marines into Lebanon to maintain the peace in the Middle East.

A warrior and a fighter to the end, he loved life so much that he fought for weeks grasping onto that thread of life. As with Winston Churchill and the other greats of this era, he belongs to the ages. Now, surely, he has found peace.

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, on this day of national mourning for President Eisenhower, I would like to convey condolences on behalf of myself and the Buffalo, N.Y., area which I represent.

As I said upon learning of the general's passing last Friday:

I, along with millions of Americans have offered my prayers during the illness of President Eisenhower. Although aware of the gravity of his illness, I was profoundly shocked and grieved at the news of his death. During my earlier terms in Congress, I came to know him, respect, and revere him as a soldier and as President. The influence for good which he exerted, the high ideals which were voiced by him and his noble examples, all combine to stamp him as a man among men. My wife and I have conveyed our condolences to his immediate family and I shall return to Washington to pay my personal respects.

The feelings of Buffalonians are well expressed in editorials appearing in our two daily newspapers, as follows:

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Courier-Express, Mar. 29, 1969]

#### UNITED STATES MOURNS SOLDIER-STATESMAN

A grief-stricken nation mourns the death of former President Dwight D. Eisenhower, a man beloved and esteemed by the American people. His deeds as a military commander will be enshrined in history as long as Western civilization endures. It was he who directed "Operation Overlord," the invasion of the European Continent, which resulted in the defeat of the Nazis. When he became President, the energy and zeal which he had displayed in war were devoted to the objective of bringing about lasting world peace.

Probably no other President in this century was as universally popular as Gen. Eisenhower. Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Calvin Coolidge came close, but each profoundly displeased a minority. The two Roosevelts were disliked by conservatives and Coolidge by the progressives. President Eisenhower, who pursued a middle-of-the-road policy toward national problems, was disliked by few Americans—a fact emphatically attested to in his 1956 reelection.

Mr. Eisenhower possessed the qualities that Americans seem to admire most in their chief executive. A pleasant and photogenic man, Mr. Eisenhower possessed a personality that radiated confidence. As a soldier, he had risen to prominence through his own brilliance. As an educator, he championed academic freedom. And as a statesman, he represented the United States with dignity and honor.

The president came to the occupancy of the highest office in the land with no experience in politics and little in government. No one realized it more than he did. Hence, he did not rush into a legislative program, but permitted his first year, 1953, to pass by without major recommendations. In 1954, he submitted a comprehensive program to Congress which was designed to cover his entire term. This included tax revision and reduction, based on curbing expenditures.

Perhaps the American people felt most indebted to him for a victory scored outside the legislative realm. That was the ending of the Korean War.

The United States and the free world have lost one of the noble and justly revered soldier-statesmen of history.

[From the Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News, Mar. 29, 1969]

#### DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

However history ranks him among Presidents or among generals, Dwight D. Eisenhower has already been ranked in the hearts of his countrymen among the best-loved Americans of all time.

Ike had that special magic of personal warmth, that glow of inner decency and dignity, that won him an all-but-universal affection—evidenced not only by the familiar "I Like Ike" buttons of his two spectacularly successful presidential campaigns, but by the millions who served under his command in World War II and the tens of millions who later greeted him wherever he traveled abroad.

As President, he could be bracketed with Washington but not with Lincoln—as an inspired unifier and team captain, but not a driving leader. His eight-year presidency was a success by the standards of those who believed deeply, with him, in a government of restraint and rigidly limited use of its vast powers—but not by those who prefer to see the Presidency played, a la FDR or LBJ, as a virtuoso performer plays a great organ.

As a general, too, Eisenhower can be ranked



with history's great team captains, but not among its brilliant strategists or dashing warriors. The MacArthur style was not for him, nor the Marshall command of over-all organization. His was a kind of generalship that could keep a prima donna Montgomery, a brilliant Bradley and a swashbuckling Patton all working for the same winning team.

His greatest single contribution—indeed the very theme of his life from the "Crusade in Europe" through the organization of NATO, his eight-year presidency and on into his eight years of retirement—was his dedication to the concept of the collective self-defense of the free world.

In World War II, his triumph was the effective captaining of a multi-nation coalition of armies to defeat the most evil tyranny of modern times. In organizing NATO, he was the logical one man in all the free world to be brought back into uniform to put the free nations of the North Atlantic Community into another effective coalition against the danger of Communist aggression.

In leaving NATO to fight for the Republican presidential nomination, his main motivation once again was his devotion to the concept of collective security and his fear that America might revert to isolationism or to go-it-aloneism. And throughout his presidency and on to his final illness, he never wavered in support of this nation's commitment to defend its friends and maintain a strong set of globe-girdling alliances to keep the free world free.

Looking back over his whole career, what sticks out is a passionate devotion to three words: Freedom, security, peace—and in that order.

The first he formed into this virtual credo, in a 1949 speech while president of Columbia University: "To men who have lived in freedom, there is nothing in life so valuable as freedom—not even life itself."

To the second, his nation's and the free world's security, he not only devoted his whole career as a soldier, but his deepest concern as a statesman—right up to last summer's ominous warning to the Republican national convention: "Abroad, in every major sector, we confront a formidable foe—an expansionist tyranny which respects only toughness and strength and still displays little interest in traveling the pathways to peace, with honor and justice. . . . To call for retreat by America is the best way I know to stockpile tragedy for our children."

Yet this is the same Ike who warned us in his presidential farewell speech eight years ago to be wary—in a time when our security depended on a vast military-industrial complex—of letting "the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes." And his greatest pride in looking back on his own presidency was simply that it had kept us at peace and secure for eight years, while his bitterest disappointment, as he himself sized it up, was his inability, despite a massive peacemaking effort, to bring about a trustworthy accord with Soviet Russia.

What the world will best remember about Ike, however, is not his speeches or his sometimes fractured syntax but that marvelous Eisenhower grin and the infectiously optimistic faith in human decency that it punctuated. Rank him where you will in greatness among the unforgettable free world leaders of his momentously historic times—Churchill, Roosevelt, MacArthur, Marshall, DeGaulle, Adenauer—and Eisenhower will be remembered as long as any and probably with more sheer affection.

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker—

So he passed over, and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side.

A man of unfaltering kingly bearing that was complemented by a genuine native warmth and humility, he was by

nature and by character as open and as free as the western plains and prairies of his youth. Few men ever sought less; he asked for nothing more than the opportunity to serve, when called and where ordered. Few men ever received more; he is one of the scant handful of men in the history of our American Republic whose fellow citizens spontaneously and overwhelmingly elevated him to be a symbol in his own lifetime. And the symbol was not merely of an era, but of the country itself, and of its people, and of the ideals and the good in the two that were both existing and hoped for.

As soldier, as general, he directed the most awesome array of military might ever entrusted to one man. It was his duty to order entire armies into some of the bloodiest combat in the history of warfare.

As statesman, as President, he gave to his country a Chief Executive with a commitment to peace that can only be known by one like himself who had carried the heaviest of the burdens and agonies of war. Six months after his first inaugural in 1953, the guns of the Korean war fell silent. For the next 7½ years of his Presidency, not one American combat death occurred.

His call to serve—first as soldier, then as statesman—came from his own country, yet the scope of this service was truly worldwide. As soldier, millions in this country and abroad looked to him in time of war for the hope of victory and of liberation. As statesman, these same millions looked to him in time of peace as that symbol of the forces of good that had gained victory, and would strive to preserve the peace so dearly won.

Measure him, in part, by the nature of his critics, that small band of petty men whose stock in trade is the supercilious condemnation, the mocking jest, and arrogant condescension. Such trivia, such meanness, only made more clear the true nobility of his own character, and exposed more glaringly the shallowness of theirs.

The legacies he leaves to his fellow men are rich and many. But perhaps the greatest of them all is this: In a day when it sometimes seems that "image" is all, and that character counts for nothing, this man lived and practiced, openly and unashamedly, the old, simple precepts of "The Gods of the Copybook Headings."

The love, honor, and respect that millions gave him has proven beyond any doubt that mankind is, and always will be, more receptive to, influenced by, and appreciative of a basic, simple code of honor and decency such as this man practiced than all the false glitter and manufactured rhetoric that so quickly loses its luster.

The roll of the muffled drums, the rumble of the caisson wheels, and the clear, high notes of "Taps" will now mark the passing of one who carried and fulfilled some of the most momentous and difficult tasks ever placed upon one man. He passes into history, but he passes as one whose part in the constantly unfolding drama of human existence and civiliza-

tion will be forever remembered. And the example he set by his life will be forever called to mind, wherever and whenever men lift up their eyes unto the hills, and seek from a power beyond themselves that inner strength and support that man must have to prevail.

Soldier from the wars returning  
Spiller of the taken town,  
Here is ease that asks not earning;  
Turn you in and sit you down.

Peace is come and wars are over,  
Welcome you and welcome all,  
While the charger crops the clover,  
And his bridle hangs in stall.

Now no more of winters biting,  
Flth in trench from fall to spring,  
Summers full of sweat and fighting  
For the Kesar or the King.

Rest you, charger, rust you, bridle;  
Kings and Kesar, keep your pay;  
Soldier, sit you down and idle  
At the inn of night for aye.

Mr. SMITH of California. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute to Dwight David Eisenhower. Americans have lost one of their greatest leaders of all time.

Dwight David Eisenhower was a leader of soldiers; he was the leader of a distinguished university; and he was a leader of the greatest nation on earth.

A distinguished military career followed his graduation from the U.S. Military Academy in 1915, and the greatest tribute that could be paid to his services to this Nation was given by the American public in 1952 when he was elected President of the United States.

When the American public returned him to that office in 1956, there could be no higher honor, no higher tribute to the inspiration and the dedication of this great man.

History will record this man's lengthy list of outstanding contributions, taking note that he always was sought after by his fellow man. He always ascended to the highest positions of leadership, and dispatched his offices in a gentlemanly fashion with dignity and efficiency.

Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Smith joins me in extending our deepest sympathies to Mrs. Eisenhower and the members of the family.

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the citizens of the Fourth Congressional District of Kansas, Mrs. Shriver, and myself, I want to express the feeling of deep sorrow over the passing of a beloved and great American, Dwight D. Eisenhower. Our heartfelt sympathy goes out to his beloved wife, Mamie; his son, John; and the entire Eisenhower family.

Dwight Eisenhower's fight for life, his physical and mental strength in the face of suffering, was an inspiration to all of us. America has lost one of its great statesmen and soldiers. We, from Kansas, are especially proud of the heritage and accomplishments left behind by this native son of Abilene.

Every World War II GI who served under Ike will forever treasure his military leadership and organizational genius. Free men everywhere will long remember his leadership in bringing peace and stability to the world as 34th President of the United States.

We are all the beneficiaries of his

lifelong devotion, dedication, and service to America and free men everywhere.

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to President Eisenhower and to underscore the deep sense of loss felt throughout the country at the death of this gallant and remarkable person.

Dwight David Eisenhower has rightly been called a great general and a great President. But, mostly, I would call him simply a great man.

The key to his greatness was the warmth and sincerity of his personality, which were reflected in his compassion and regard for his fellow men. The measure of his greatness was the strong hold he so easily retained throughout his entire career on the confidence, respect, and affection of the people of this Nation; indeed, throughout the world community.

General Eisenhower has left to America a legacy of bravery, integrity, courage, and devotion to country and to democratic principles as a way of life. He was a man of essential decency and kindness, the traits which endeared him to the Nation.

His place in history is firmly established by his many services to his country. In the dark days of World War II, he emerged as the strong commander of the Allied forces to win for the millions of Europeans their freedom from Nazi tyranny. Who of us can forget D-day and the extreme courage the general displayed in executing the invasion, which was the only hope of stemming the Nazi onslaught? The remarkable trust he instilled in the men who crossed the channel and went on to the beachheads on that June day was the hallmark of his ability to command and to lead. He sent the Allied forces on to a glorious victory that gave Western Europe its freedom, and he stayed to watch over the liberated lands and helped to rebuild them. He returned to America a "conquering hero" in the true sense of the word, and it was his just due.

His two terms as President was a grateful nation's recognition of qualities of leadership. In his person, he represented what America is—in war and in peace.

Dwight David Eisenhower will always be remembered and revered by every American now living and for all generations to come. His page in history is a shining example of a truly wonderful man and a great American.

Mrs. Corman and I extend our deep sympathy to Mrs. Eisenhower and the family. We hope they will find solace in the knowledge that the Nation mourns with them.

Mr. ERLBORN. Mr. Speaker, it seems to me that Dwight Eisenhower was one of those rare leaders with a genius for bringing people together. He was a maker of friends, not a maker of enemies—for himself, for his political party, for his point of view, for his country, and for the people of the world.

His administration was a time of healing, of peacemaking, and of peace-keeping. His life was devoted to goodness and mercy.

His greatness as a man overshadows his greatness as a general or as a President; and yet, his ready smile and his

well-known temper marked him as being made of the same stuff as the rest of us.

Samuel Butler, the great English novelist of the 19th century wrote a line at about the time Dwight Eisenhower was born:

A virtue, to be serviceable, must, like gold, be alloyed with some commoner but more serviceable metal.

Mr. Speaker, I believe Dwight Eisenhower was a marvelous alloy. Millions of people around the world today are repeating a famous phrase: "I like Ike."

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation that would authorize the minting of all quarter-dollar pieces with a likeness of former President Dwight David Eisenhower.

This tribute to President Eisenhower is only fitting when one considers his dedicated service to his country. Our country and the world are more secure because of his efforts in times of war and peace. He was a man of courage; a man of integrity, and above all, a man of kindness. Even in death, President Eisenhower's spirit of dedication to his countrymen and his Nation will remain as an inspiration to all.

The people of Iowa have had a special feeling in their hearts for President Eisenhower throughout his career, because his beloved wife was reared in our State. I know the people of Iowa will join me in extending our prayers and sympathy to Mrs. Eisenhower and the family in this time of sorrow.

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, with the dignity befitting his entire lifetime, and with the respect he always earned and enjoyed, the American people have been saying their personal farewells to a great and good man who served them well.

We salute his fine family for the admirable manner in which they have borne the long and trying months of General Eisenhower's final illness, and for the inspiration they have given all of us to bear our own burdens with similar courage and fortitude.

Mr. Speaker, there are unlimited tributes one could pay to our former President and great wartime leader. When I heard of his death on Friday, and the newspapers in my district asked me for my comments, I made the following statement:

STATEMENT BY CONGRESSWOMAN LEONOR K. SULLIVAN UPON THE DEATH OF FORMER PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, FRIDAY, MARCH 28, 1969

I don't think there was ever any narrow partisanship in the character of Dwight D. Eisenhower during his eight years as President of the United States, which was one of the reasons why he could serve as effectively as he did as a Republican President with a predominantly Democratic Congress during six of those eight years. I think every Member of Congress recognized in him a man of decency and of great dedication to the cause of freedom, and even when we disagreed with him—as we frequently did—on domestic issues, there was never any bitterness or attacks on his personal integrity.

Few Americans have ever left the White House with as much genuine good will and warm feeling of approval as a person. History may not regard him as one of our greatest Presidents, but it is certain to include him among the greatest Americans. And consid-

ering the fact that his entire adult life was spent in the military service until just a few years before he became President of the United States, his performance as President was indeed remarkable in many respects, particularly in recognizing the supremacy of the civilian authority over our national destiny.

Even when I was fighting him vigorously on some issues in the Congress—on food stamps, medicare, and some of the other domestic issues—I never doubted for a moment the sincerity of his views or the honesty of his approach. He was, in all respects, a man to be admired and respected. I join all of my fellow citizens in sorrow over his death following such a magnificent and dignified and courageous life of service to his country.

Mr. ROBISON. Mr. Speaker, my family joins with the millions of others throughout the world who will mourn the loss of Dwight David Eisenhower—a great and good man.

His death, after his prolonged illness and almost miraculous recovery from prior heart attacks, comes as no great shock but it is, nevertheless, a personally difficult thing to accept the fact that his wise counsel and always-encouraging presence has been removed from us.

Dwight Eisenhower's place in history was assured long before he assumed the Presidency, but there have been some who have questioned whether or not his tenure in that most difficult of all offices added anything to his stature. I have never understood nor shared those questions. To my mind, back then and now, today, as I review the tumult and the trouble of these past 8 years, General Eisenhower was—and will forever remain—one of our great Presidents. He brought peace and a respite from both domestic and international tensions to a nation badly in need of such relief; he proved, if such needed proving, that we could have prosperity without war, a steadily rising standard of living without crippling inflation, and that true progress could be made in the field of human rights without recourse to public confrontation in city streets.

God grant that Richard Nixon, under today's worsened circumstances, can do half as well—and God grant, too, that as Dwight Eisenhower leaves us, we, the American people, will be so inspired by his precept and example as to prove worthy of the trust he always had in us.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Speaker, I have been deeply moved by the eulogies today on the life and career of General Eisenhower. It was not my privilege to have served in Congress during the years of his Presidency. In those years I served in the legislature of my State. But on two occasions, once before his election as our Chief Magistrate, and once afterward I met him, and his personal warmth I have always remembered. When he was campaigning for the Republican nomination, before the Republican Convention in 1952, he came to Detroit. It was my privilege to sit on the platform with him at that time, and to meet him on that occasion. After the close of his presidential years, during the Michigan Constitutional Convention in the spring of 1962, General Eisenhower came to that convention in Lansing. A few of us who were delegates at that convention were



privileged to have luncheon with him at the home of Dr. John Hannah, then president of Michigan State University. I sat across the table from him then, and for an hour and a half he kept us enraptured by his experiences, his philosophy, and his life as a retired President living at Gettysburg and his interest in Eisenhower College. The occasion impressed me deeply, and I shall remember him vividly as long as I live.

Mr. DANIELS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I rise to express the profound sorrow of the people of the 14th Congressional District of New Jersey at the passing of our 34th President, Dwight David Eisenhower.

Because in the later years of his life he was involved in the world of partisan politics, his was to some extent a controversial figure. There were those who agreed with him on particular policies and those who differed with him. Yet, while there might have been disagreement about Eisenhower the President, there was no disagreement about Eisenhower the man. I know that there has been no man who in my lifetime has enjoyed the trust and confidence of his fellow citizens to the extent that General Eisenhower did.

Mr. Speaker, General Eisenhower was a professional military man and indeed one of the great military figures of our history. He ranks with Washington, Grant, Lee, Sherman, Sheridan, Pershing, and MacArthur in our glossary of military leaders. He possessed military virtues in abundance. He was always an enlisted man's general, humble and self-effacing. And it was General Eisenhower who had spent almost all his adult life as a professional soldier who warned his fellow citizens about the dangers of the military-industrial complex in a free society.

Dwight David Eisenhower brought to public life a sense of decency, a sense of propriety, and above all, a deep devotion to this Nation and its ideals. His virtues were perhaps the virtues of an earlier America, an America which was not ashamed to wear its patriotism on its sleeve, an America which believed in God and the family as the basic unit of a free and just society. At this critical time these seem to be the virtues that this Nation needs most.

His contributions to this Nation and to the free world will live after him. Of him it may be said, as Richard Henry Lee said of an earlier military man, George Washington, who served as President during trying times, he was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, every American and every freedom-loving person on this globe has lost a dear friend in the passing of General and President Eisenhower. At the end of World War II, as I was a patient in Army-Navy hospital in Arkansas, I wrote to General Eisenhower and urged him to run for the Presidency, as I felt he was just the man who was needed to lead our country in those troubled times. I was never sorry that I had made that judgment and that in the years that followed that he went to the White House and led our country so well

in peace as he had in war. In the years since General Washington, no one has better earned the phrase that he was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." He had the uncommon quality of understanding the common man and helping him to achieve his finest potentialities. No President in our history has been better loved and it will always be one of the treasures of my life that fortune gave me the opportunity to know him personally. Our country will always be his debtor, as in fact so will we and all of humanity.

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, the life of Dwight Eisenhower was a very special gift of the Almighty to our contemporary world. Few men have been endowed with the personal qualities to make them, all at the same time, effective, objective, resolute, and compassionate. Few men have been able to encompass in one life the roles of warrior, statesman and peacemaker. Few men have been able to inspire, at the same time, love from their friends, respect from their enemies, and confidence from their fellow men. Yet, he did all of these things.

General Eisenhower was a true moderate. In one of the first utterances he ever made in my presence, he said, "No progress can be made by walking in the gutter to the far right, or the far left. It can only be made by walking resolutely down the middle of the road. This is where I plan to walk."

The world is today a poorer place than it was yesterday because President Eisenhower is no longer in it. We thank God for his life, we express our sympathy to Mrs. Eisenhower and the Eisenhower family, and we pray that Almighty God will give his great soul rest and eternal peace.

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I join with Americans everywhere and people the world over in mourning the passing of our 34th President—who in death as in life will be remembered among our country's greatest statesmen and patriots. He was one of those individuals who had the rare privilege of seeing himself become a living legend—hailed and admired by peoples around the world. He won the love, respect, and devotion of his fellow man. In our Nation's darkest hour of need, he came forward to lead the free world to victory.

Dwight David Eisenhower began his service to his people as a soldier of war. He ended as a crusader for peace. For both he will be long remembered by a world that knew and loved him. He believed superbly in the motto of West Point, his alma mater—"Duty, honor, country"—and he dedicated his life to these high principles. He was a man of great strength, wisdom, and compassion.

As we mourn the passing of General Eisenhower, we think first of the loss of a man who stood for America, a man whose courage, personality, and integrity lifted the Nation in times of crisis—a pillar of strength who could be relied upon for wise counsel and leadership. We think of all he exemplified, of all he did—as commanding general in World War II, as an educator, serving as president of Columbia University, as the organizer and first supreme commander of Allied

Powers in Europe within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, as our President, twice elected by landslide majorities, and as a man still revered after he left office. But aside from all this, General Eisenhower has left our Nation a legacy to which to cling—to live by, to build on—basic principles and basic commonsense good in any circumstances.

There was his essential decency as a man, his humility as a leader, his readiness to make decisions, and his willingness to take the blame if the decisions went wrong. President Nixon, in a statement, pointed out that the one key to the character of General Eisenhower was revealed in a message the general had prepared in case the landings in France on D-day had failed. This message—never issued because the landings were a success and led directly to the end of the war—included these sentences:

The troops, the air and the Navy, did all that bravery and devotion could do. If any blame or fault attaches to the attempt it is mine alone.

This was typical of General Eisenhower—a man ready to take the consequences of decision.

The convictions which led to his decisions were bolstered by the thoroughness with which he made them, and one of the fundamentals in his planning was to consider the consequences if they proved wrong—what to do next—what alternatives. These were the qualities which made him a great general, and the qualities maintained through the major decisions of his years as the Nation's Chief Executive. They are qualities that too often have been lacking in Washington when great plans were pushed through with little or no thought to the possibility of failure, or to the alternatives. But these qualities are essential to the leadership of the future—and they are General Eisenhower's most enduring legacy.

In death Dwight Eisenhower becomes no longer a man of the 20th century but a man of immortality who will live on through the ages in the hearts of his countrymen—along with Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and others who have made our Nation great. This generation and those to come will never forget the legend of Eisenhower the general, Eisenhower the President, and "Ike" the citizen.

At this time, I want to extend my deep sympathy to the Eisenhower family.

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, America has lost one of its finest citizens in the passing of former President Dwight David Eisenhower. The President leaves an outstanding record as a military tactician and former commander of all Allied forces in Europe during World War II. He was a distinguished military graduate of West Point and had the distinction of leading this country both in time of war and peace.

His 8 years as President of our country saw America prospering and under his able leadership our country was recognized world wide for the strength of our military forces, and for our industrial growth. Also our abilities to negotiate and work with other nations of the free world were well known. During the last

8 years of his life, he sought retirement to the serenity of a small farm in Gettysburg, Pa., on lands which ironically join to the great military battlefield between the North and South during the War Between the States.

As I silently walked past the body of this great American lying in state in the rotunda of the U.S. Capitol, which traditionally is reserved exclusively for outstanding Americans, my mind went back some quarter of a century ago when the general was my own military commander just prior to the invasion of Normandy in World War II. I still treasure the individual letter which he wrote each man taking part in the invasion of France. It was a warm, personal sort of message from a leader whom we all had great confidence in and whom we would follow without question in carrying out his orders for the long-awaited and much-planned landing in Normandy.

It was a solemn hour going across on the old Navy LST's on the morning of June 6, 1944, but somehow every GI felt better about whatever he might face during the days and weeks ahead, because he carried that special letter from Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower in his pocket or tucked away under his steel helmet.

In the after years, we may not have always agreed wholeheartedly with some of the President's decisions nor necessarily all of his political views, but make no mistake about it, he was indeed a great American. General Eisenhower will be missed, for a man of his stature does not come along every day. I am confident that both his spirit and his influence over the men he commanded in battle and over those who served with him during his 8 years as President of our country will long be remembered. His influence will be felt in this country and throughout the world for many, many years to come.

Mr. McCLEURE. Mr. Speaker, the greatest monument to a public figure is the esteem in which he is held by his fellow man. If that is the measure, then Dwight Eisenhower was truly the man of his time.

His service to his country, to the world, and to the cause of freedom is unmatched in this century. He marshaled the greatest force for war in the history of mankind. After that, he marshaled the greatest force for peace the world has seen—the spirit of the American people. There is a certain irony in the fact that this man of war gave us the longest sustained period of peace in the last three decades.

Those of us from Idaho have always felt a special fondness for Dwight Eisenhower. We recall that the first speech he gave in his quest for the Presidency was delivered on the steps of the State Capitol in Boise. From that point in 1952 to his final resting place in Abilene, Ike traveled the path of peace and freedom. It is a journey that will be remembered throughout history.

On behalf of the citizens of the First District of Idaho, I wish to extend our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Eisenhower and the other members of the Eisenhower family.

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, as we assembled in the rotunda of the Capitol

Sunday to pay our respects to the great President of peace, Dwight David Eisenhower, my thoughts went back to my earlier discussions with the President.

Serving him as Regional Chairman of the White House Conference on Youth, I recall how often he would urge our Nation's youth to use "commonsense." Every single individual was unique, and had something special to offer to America. Every single individual was important to "Ike," and he would often speak of the great need to provide better educational opportunities for America's youth. I remember how he outlined the "way" for our youth.

We must not look for the simple way—the easy way—but we must understand and know that the best way is so often the hardest way. Many men put forth their ideas to simplify a youngster's education and growth. "Ike" would pause a moment, then more deliberately and more thoughtfully restate his belief that America's youth could—and would—respond to the call for individual responsibility and individual development.

And because "Ike" believed in you—you believed in yourself. And you believed in the others who struggled daily beside you in the bettering of an often-troubled world. "Ike" understood Emerson's phrase:

The only way to have a friend is to be one.

General Eisenhower was my leader during the war as this Nation forsook the easy way for the grueling, hard way that brought us the one true victory that men call peace. Dwight David Eisenhower was my leader again as he paced us as the great President for peace and prosperity. "Ike" was my friend as he befriended our Nation, and as he issued the call for individual leadership on the part of all Americans.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, everything in the life of Dwight David Eisenhower became him like the leaving it.

The accomplishments of Dwight Eisenhower as soldier and statesman, as general and President, richly deserve the praise and admiration they have received. But I would like to focus upon another of his great achievements; the courage of Dwight Eisenhower in the face of death.

Many times during 1968 the dark solemnity of the death watch settled over Walter Reed Hospital here in Washington; just as many times the bright light of the famous grin of Ike was shed yet again upon a relieved world. The fact that we mourn him in 1969 rather than 1968 is a tribute to more than the miracles of medical science. It is a tribute to the unquenchable spirit of man—surely the greatest glory of God's earth.

Dwight Eisenhower has left us many legacies. To my mind, perhaps the greatest is the memory of his unbroken will and transcendent character when his body was at its weakest. For his refusal to slip easily into death is an enduring inspiration to all who must undergo adversity.

Mr. Speaker, no matter what they may have been in life, many men have died well. Shakespeare celebrated that

fact in the famous speech in Macbeth which begins:

Nothing in his life became him like the leaving it.

In the case of Dwight David Eisenhower, however, everything in his life became him like the leaving it.

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, the world has lost a friend. People of all ages, all political ideologies and all nations respected and revered Dwight D. Eisenhower. He was a great military leader in times of war. But more important, he was the President who united this Nation and led it to peace. A deeply religious man, his strong spirit and will were evident even in these last days and hours. Dwight Eisenhower's mission in life was to chart a course toward permanent world peace and human benefit. The greatest tribute we can pay him is to do everything in our power to fulfill this mission.

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, we are all saddened by the death of Dwight D. Eisenhower. Soldier and statesman, his life was one of distinguished and disciplined devotion to service.

As the general commanding the greatest military force ever assembled, he led American and Allied armies to victory in Europe.

Called by his countrymen to the highest office in this Republic, he brought an end to the Korean conflict and maintained the peace during his years as our President.

For his great leadership in these accomplishments, he received the deep and continuing appreciation of a grateful people. For his dignity, humility, and warmth of personality, he was held in affection by all.

To Mrs. Eisenhower and his family, I extend my deepest sympathy as we all share in their loss and bereavement.

Mr. WATSON. Mr. Speaker, because of the universal esteem with which General Eisenhower was held, I deem it appropriate for Congress to take immediate action to preserve the memory of this honored American by renaming the District of Columbia Stadium, the "Dwight David Eisenhower Memorial Stadium."

Therefore, in order to pay this initial tribute to this distinguished American, I plan to introduce a resolution to attain just such a goal.

This magnificent stadium was built during the administration of President Eisenhower. As we all know, he was a sports enthusiast. His example of courage, fair play, devotion to duty, and deep humility are the attributes of a great athlete and it was this example which inspired untold millions to conquer life's adversities.

I know that all my colleagues will want to join in this worthy endeavor.

Few men of history have ever received the universal love, respect, and acclaim during their own lifetime as that accorded to General Eisenhower. His continuing strength and abiding faith were an inspiration to people everywhere, and when he finally succumbed to an illness which had plagued him for so long, we could not help but be exalted by the tenacity with which a man his age clung



to life. His universal appeal as soldier, statesman, humanitarian and those other accomplishments of such a great and noble spirit will be forever enshrined in the hearts of all who aspire to make this earth of ours a better place to live. There will be countless ways in which Ike will be remembered in the years ahead. While I am certain that each of us will recall him in a different way, I shall remember most of all his indomitable courage and boundless optimism during the dark days of World War II. Just as his contemporary, the great Sir Winston Churchill, Dwight David Eisenhower stands as one of the giants of the 20th century, because he and Churchill played such an important role in leading us through the most monumental crisis that our century has thus far been confronted with—the Second World War. The Nation, indeed the world, stands a little sadder today because of his passing. But, we can take heart. His life made it possible for us to stand taller as we face the future with renewed purpose, direction, and above all, hope.

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, twelve hundred miles of railroad track tie Washington to Abilene.

America's heart is on the train carrying home the body of Dwight David Eisenhower from the Capital of the Nation he served so devotedly to the vast golden wheat fields of the Kansas he loved.

Soldier, statesman, he epitomized all that we like to think is best in the American character. He was friend to the world, and the world responded to his warmth. "I like Ike" probably has been repeated in nearly every language spoken on the globe.

As President Nixon said in his beautiful eulogy yesterday in the rotunda, General Eisenhower undoubtedly was loved by more people in more parts of the world than any other American President.

Each of us who had the privilege of calling him friend has his own special memories of the 34th President of the United States.

Mine extend back to World War II when I first met him in the European Theater. He was a soldier's soldier, a commander who inspired confidence, devotion, courage, the will to win.

Yet Great Britain's Lord Moran, who knew him well, sensed even then the real Dwight Eisenhower, the man of peace. In the bleak days of 1943 Lord Moran wrote of the general that—

Could he have had his way he would have spent a quiet life in the country stillness, near some tree-reflecting stream, but that was not to be his lot. He loathed war.

It was precisely because he knew the horrors of war and the blessings of peace, that as Commander in Chief he was able to give our Nation the only virtually untroubled 8 years this country has known since the end of World War II. The times were no less demanding, the decisions he made during his two terms in office were as critical as any during the European campaign. But while he was President not one drop of American blood was shed in battle, not one inch of free world soil lost.

First and foremost his objective was a world in which free men could live in harmony together. This was his crusade. It was his fervent prayer during the years after he left the White House.

The last time I visited General Eisenhower, a little more than a year ago, at Gettysburg, the famous grin was as infectious as ever, the twinkle in his blue eyes seemed to mock at time. It came with a stab of pain to realize that he was, indeed, growing old.

We who fought under him in Europe and shared his victories, we who worked with him to carry out his programs in Congress, we who were privileged to counsel with him at Gettysburg in later years—we had grown accustomed to Eisenhower victories over impossible odds, even those posed by his failing health.

After so many victories, it was hard to accept the inevitable, that one day he would fight his last great battle and would lose, as all men must. We are grateful that death came to him quietly and gently.

His long life was filled with mighty and heroic struggles. His valiant spirit endures to inspire all men who love freedom.

Dwight David Eisenhower combined the best qualities of ordinary Americans and thereby became the most extraordinary American our country has produced. He was a man's man who loved the outdoors, who once wistfully remarked, of the squirrels on the White House lawn:

They have a freedom I would personally dearly love.

And now, after so many years of striving to bring new understanding of the words freedom and brotherhood to the world, his work is finished.

Abilene was little more than a frontier town when young Dwight Eisenhower moved there as a boy. The names of Bat Masterson, Wyatt Earp, and other Kansas heroes were not mere legends to him, they were vivid memories on the lips of his elders. He grew up on stories of pioneers, hardships, of the right and wrong of the western frontier. He was taught, and believed, and proved, that a man can be anything he aspires to be, if he is honest, willing to work hard, has courage and faith in his Creator.

Speaking of his childhood, General Eisenhower once said:

I found out in later years that we were very poor, but the glory of America is that we didn't know it then.

The boy from Abilene now is part of the glory of America. He has left a heritage neither time nor death can extinguish.

After a life of devotion to his country, to the cause of freedom throughout the world, he is going home to what he always called "the heart of America." Not far from his resting place flows the "tree-reflecting stream," the Smoky Hill River. Spring is a burst of loveliness on the Kansas plains, summer a blaze of heat and ripening grain, fall a triumph of harvest, winter harsh and cold and a time for fireside stories of the days when Kansas was young, stories Dwight Eisenhower loved all his life.

And he can say, with Benet's "William Sycamore":

My youth returns, like the rains of Spring  
And my sons, like the wild geese flying,  
And I lie and hear the meadow-lark sing,  
And have much content in my dying.

Go play with the towns you have built of  
blocks,  
The towns where you would have bound  
me.

I sleep in my earth like a tired fox,  
And my buffalo have found me.

Godspeed the train to Abilene.

Mr. ZION. Ike is gone. The courageous heart is finally stilled. The grand old soldier whose life and career were so closely entwined with the destiny of his country has been permitted to rest at last.

Dwight David Eisenhower was never a quitter. He fought his way from the poverty of a prairie farm boyhood to the ranks of West Point. His career sent him to the summit of military achievement as commander of Allied forces in World War II. A grateful nation refused, as they had refused General Washington, the opportunity of a quiet retirement following the conclusion of his military career and bestowed upon General Eisenhower the Presidency of the United States. His tenure as President marked one of the great eras of prosperity and peace in the national history.

Ike was no speechmaker. He had little familiarity with the clever turn of phrase that characterizes the experienced politician. His own formal politics were, at best, uncertain. But his philosophy of living, of duty, of loyalty to country, of honor—these were firmly rooted in the great traditions of America. From these he never swerved. Successful politics involves the art of compromise. And history will thus not record Dwight Eisenhower as a master politician. For the principles of decency and honor learned in midwest farm upbringing simply would not be compromised by this man.

Americans sensed the character of which Ike was made. He was elected and reelected to the Presidency by overwhelming majorities. The Nation that he had served so well for so long was strangely moved by this kind, good President who cared little for the entrapments of power. He left the Presidency in 1961 enjoying a pinnacle of esteem that few men in the history of this world have enjoyed.

His greatest battle was yet before him. The ravages of world wars and 8 years in the Presidency had taken their toll. His weary heart began to fail. A nation waited and prayed with the family of Dwight Eisenhower through each new crisis—each terrible onslaught on the gallant heart.

Now, kind providence has stilled his suffering and a nation remains to mourn the passing of her faithful son. I may only hope that the collective memory of what he was will remind all of our people of what we, as a nation, have been and what we still can be.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, in General Eisenhower's death our entire Nation, regardless of our individual views and perspectives, mourns the passing of one of our great leaders.

I join all Americans in mourning the passing of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower. His page in history will indeed be an

illustrious one and his contributions to the free world and his search for lasting peace have endeared him to all people.

General Eisenhower was in many ways the embodiment of the virtues which have sustained our Nation through the nearly 200 years of our existence.

Some people said that he projected a "father image." This to me is a high compliment. For in times of stress and uncertainty he was the man in whom the Nation placed its highest trust, and he lived up to that trust to the best of his ability.

He was a good soldier, an outstanding general, and above all, in a time of tension and division, a unifying force for a nation surrounded by a world of peril and trouble.

General Eisenhower's influence went beyond the years of his Presidency. Nearly to his dying day, he was a leader who provided counsel and guidance to the men who have been and are responsible for carrying on the highest responsibilities of this Nation.

Although he was elected as a Republican, he was not at heart a partisan man. He championed causes which he believed were good for this Nation and the cause of freedom. And he did it at times by rallying some fragments of his political party to the support of the undertakings of Democratic administrations.

General Eisenhower came from the Midwest, the heartland of our Nation. All of us mourn him. My wife joins me in extending heartfelt sympathy to his beloved wife and family. May they be comforted in the knowledge of the love and hope he inspired throughout the world.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower was a strong man, physically and morally.

I admired, as did all Americans, his courageous fight for life through a long series of operations and heart attacks.

History will probably record as the two greatest accomplishments of his life the fact that during the 8 years in which he served as President he kept the United States at peace, and his administration was untouched by the scandals that tarnished preceding and subsequent administrations.

In the most respected sense of the word, President Eisenhower was a simple man, uncomplicated and unpretentious in his great affection for his country.

I extend my sympathy to Mrs. Eisenhower and members of the family.

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, tributes can hardly do justice to the service that Dwight D. Eisenhower gave to his country and the entire free world. His kind does not often pass among us.

He was surely one of our greatest generals and one of our truly peace-loving Presidents. His successful leadership of the United States in war and peace made every home in our Nation safer and many times contributed to the protection of our free Western civilization.

He was both a great man and a good man who was possessed of moral courage and genuine kindness; a man you would be proud to call your friend.

Though he has fallen, his greatness and his deeds will never die.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the

people of America—indeed the people of the world—mourn the death of a great man, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower. He gained the affection and respect of all men as a hero of peace as well as a hero of war.

As President he brought us a peaceful end to the Korean conflict. Just as he ended the war with Germany by military action. Rarely has a military leader so completely earned the world's attention and trust as a statesman. The sympathy of our Nation and the world goes out to Mrs. Eisenhower and her family in their hour of grief. Their loss is truly our loss.

Great men need no eulogies. Their character and deeds require no external illumination and in fact none is possible.

They shine out of the past unaided or not at all.

Through them the world is permanently changed and goes on changing.

Their truth, we may imperfectly understand and express, neglect and forget, but it remains unalterably part of our history.

It falls upon us, the living, however, to preserve that past in the living memory of each new generation. It is this duty particularly that prompts us to offer our thoughts at a time when a reverent and grateful silence would speak best our deepest feelings.

Many have noted the presence of many young people amidst the thousands that have come to pay their final respects to General Eisenhower. Many of these were born since the end of his final term as President and a great many more did not live through the trials and triumphs of World War II. It is for these new citizens of our country that we should direct our praise for the man we honor today.

Yesterday President Nixon eloquently stated the essential quality of General Eisenhower, saying:

It was the character of the man, not what he did but what he was.

It is the example of this simple, honest man that commends itself to us today as our Nation strives to heal the wounds of discord that have come to trouble its spirit. The challenges that Dwight D. Eisenhower faced in his day, while perhaps different, were no less difficult than those we face today or will face tomorrow. He met and conquered them without fear or malice in the finest tradition of "duty, honor, country."

In his death by reminding us all of the immortality of these truths General Eisenhower has served his country as he served it in his lifetime.

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues, my country, and the world in mourning the death of Dwight David Eisenhower, the 34th President of the United States. The world has lost a leader; the country has lost a devoted servant; and all Americans have lost a man that was a source of courage and inspiration to them.

President Eisenhower will long be remembered for his leadership during the Second World War and later during the Korean conflict. He will long be remembered for his courage and determination in his long battle with death.

The Newark Evening News and Star Ledger has both captured the spirit and

the bond between General Eisenhower and the people. They are words well and justly spoken, and I include them herewith:

[From the Newark (N.J.) Evening News, Mar. 31, 1969]

#### NATION IN MOURNING

A great American has died and no presidential proclamation was required to impel the nation to mourn his passing. His countrymen gave Dwight David Eisenhower honors and gratitude. And they gave him the greatest office within their power to give. But more than acclaim and reward, they gave him their affection.

To the people he was no remote hero, no aloof statesman. To the people he was Ike.

What special quality did he possess that evoked this bond? It was, it seems, a national response to a man of warmth and simplicity to whom it gave its confidence and votes in unprecedented degree. And with the presidency went a personal affection that few Americans have attained.

Dwight Eisenhower had gained world fame. He was the man who, having led an army to victory in the greatest of all wars, hated war as a "damnable thing." He hated it for what it meant in hardship and sacrifice to the countless young men he had to commit to the hazards of battle. A compassionate man, it was this bitter experience which had its origin in the fires of war that inspired his deep devotion to peace so manifest during his eight years in the presidency.

He was a man who wore his honors with easy dignity, born of a strain of religious humility so alien to the cynicism of today's world. He spoke often and proudly of his mother's training in his formative years and he did so without affectation or hesitation. He grew up in simpler, if harder, times and for today's young there is a lesson in the disciplines that he accepted without question in his youth.

Now the general of the army, the two-time president, the man from Abilene is dead, and his mourning country is diminished by the loss.

[From the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger, Mar. 29, 1969]

#### IKE: SOLDIER, POLITICIAN

For Dwight David Eisenhower, it was a full, productive and eventful life; it was a life divided into two diverse, distinct worlds, the military and politics, and profoundly influenced the life and times of hundreds of millions, in war and in peace.

Ironically, it seemed Eisenhower was never completely at ease in either pursuit that occupied his adult life . . . one for which he was trained, the other for which he was drafted to resuscitate a long moribund Republican Party.

Millions of Americans had a deep and abiding affection for the Kansas farm boy; they cast him in a heroic mold as a military leader and as a reassuring father image in political life.

Like other world leaders before him, Gen. Eisenhower was a product of his times. His early military life could hardly be described as distinguished; as a professional soldier he was resigned to rounding out his career as a colonel, but cataclysmic events dramatically decreed otherwise.

And later in private life, when he was content to live out the years in the tranquility of the academe, he was thrust into the political arena, a reluctant candidate who only four years earlier had observed that a military man should not run for President unless there were exceptional circumstances to make it necessary.

In both spheres of his life there were personal conflicts, close to the surface of this leader, that occasionally broke through the characteristic Eisenhower grin, a lifelong trait that established a warm relationship with Americans and foreigners alike.



Born of pacifist origins, he chose the Army as a profession and was later to lead three million men into battle in history's greatest military operation. But he was intrinsically a man of peace who never really strayed far afield from the pacifist teachings of a mother who frowned on his choice of a career.

As a militarist who knew on an intimate level the essential evil of war, Gen. Eisenhower was avowedly dedicated to peace in his private and political lives after he left the Army. He was a world leader who made a number of fateful decisions, including one that assured his election as President when he declared that he would go to Korea to seek an armistice.

But while there was unrestrained praise for Gen. Eisenhower, there were detractors for President Eisenhower who never seemed to get over an elemental distaste for the rough-and-tumble milieu of politics. His reluctance to exert his immense popularity as a potent lever in the civil rights area, after this volatile social issue drew an unprecedented constitutional vitality from Supreme Court landmark decision on school desegregation in 1954, was deplored in a number of quarters.

He was a caretaker President at a time when the nation was at the height of its power and vigor, determined to keep the ship of state on an even keel in foreign and domestic waters. It was a sense of caution that marked his early military life and carried over into his tenure as President.

In World War II, as commander of the European theater, the general established his niche in military history; he did not come up quite as well as the nation's peacetime commander-in-chief. He was not a social innovator like President Roosevelt before him and President Johnson after him; nor did he display the combative personal stamp that marked the Administration of President Truman.

As President, Mr. Eisenhower was a chief executive who chose to remain aloof from the fires of partisan conflict, nor was he a strong influence on Congress. It is likely that when his Administration is reviewed in historical terms, Ike will likely be categorized as a good president, not a great one.

It was an Administration largely influenced by the so-called Assistant President, Sherman Adams, a stern, implacable New Englander who became embroiled in an unsavory episode involving a Boston industrialist, and John Foster Dulles, the architect of a foreign policy that was blamed for much of America's present difficulties overseas.

Eisenhower had misgivings about running for the presidency, and there were periods when he was neither comfortable nor happy in this most demanding and lonely citadel of power. It was in one of these moments of self doubts that the President once told the late House Speaker Sam Rayburn that historians would probably rank him with George Washington and Robert E. Lee as one of the great military leaders of the nation. As President, he wasn't sure how he would be graded in history.

It was a perceptive self-appraisal that could stand as an objective accounting of this leader's life in war and peace, a dominant, influential figure whose stature never diminished in the eyes and hearts of his grateful countrymen.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am profoundly touched and deeply grieved by the passing of President Eisenhower. He was one of our greatest Presidents and one of our greatest Americans.

His entire life was unselfishly and brilliantly devoted to our country. He was a superb military leader, who won the hearts of his men and the gratitude of our country and allies, by his inspir-

ing, victorious leadership of our united military forces in a most crucial war.

This great American stood out for his truly illustrious service to our country and the American people as President for 8 long critical years in our history.

His motivations were always lofty; his principles were based on solid American values; and his concerns and contributions encompassed the Nation, the world, and all mankind.

He was a personal friend, and I looked upon him with highest regard, admiration, and affection.

He was kindly, generous, and humane, instinctively dedicated to the highest concepts of duty, not only in his career as a soldier but in the Presidency and throughout his entire life.

He will be greatly missed by all of us, the American people he served so well, and peoples everywhere whom he was so eager to help toward prosperity, freedom, and peace. He has left a great legacy of honest, distinguished, loyal service to our country, which will always be gratefully remembered.

I extend my prayers and most heartfelt sympathy to his wonderful, devoted wife and all his dear ones, and join them in mourning him.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, all Americans, regardless of political persuasion, mourn the passing of former President and General of the Army Dwight David Eisenhower. He was a singularly beloved President and a great military leader. Born in Texas and raised in Kansas, his achievements have made a profound mark on the history of this Nation.

Not only was "Ike" one of our most loved Presidents and a great leader of the Allied military effort in World War II, but he was prophetic in his farewell address as President in his assessment of the risks inherent in a growing military-industrial complex in a democratic society. As one who has drawn inspiration from his valedictory address before it became currently popular to do so, I have long been impressed with his perception. Nothing indicates the greatness of this fine old soldier more than his respect for rule by the people and for the due process of democracy.

San Antonio is proud of its connection with the career of this great American during his years of service at Fort Sam Houston. It was on our historic Army base in 1915 that First Lieutenant Eisenhower first met Miss Mamie Doud, and where they started their married life. "Ike" was reassigned from Fort Sam in 1917, preparatory to fighting in World War I, and it was not until 1941 that the Eisenhowers were again in residence at Fort Sam. But certainly this assignment was again a most memorable one for them, because it was at Fort Sam that "Ike" was promoted to brigadier general, receiving his first star. A recent article from the San Antonio Light which I am inserting at the end of my remarks contains interesting details of General Eisenhower's tours of duty at Fort Sam Houston.

The sympathy of the Nation goes out to Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower and the Eisenhower family. Their personal loss is

shared in a very real sense by the entire country.

The article referred to follows:

EISENHOWER, MAMIE, AND FORT SAM HOUSTON  
(Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, who died Friday, felt a special attachment to Fort Sam Houston and San Antonio. So did his widow, the former Mamie Doud. Here is the story about the couple's close affiliation to historic Fort Sam Houston.)

The most distinguished military leaders of this nation have served tours of duty at historic Fort Sam Houston.

Gen. Douglas MacArthur, Gen. John J. "Black Jack" Pershing, Gen. Jonathan M. Wainwright, Gen. Walter Krueger, were all men in whom the U.S. Army and Fort Sam Houston personnel take great pride. But for Dwight David Eisenhower, President of the United States, General of the Army, this feeling of pride and admiration has always been a little special.

Perhaps this feeling of kinship and affection for Gen. Eisenhower stems from the fact that he began his career at Fort Sam Houston as a young second lieutenant fresh from West Point, in September 1915, while assigned to the 19th Infantry, that he brought his 20-year-old bride to Fort Sam Houston on July 11, 1916, 10 days after their marriage.

He received his first star in ceremonies held at Fort Sam Houston in 1941 and from here he departed at the onset of World War II, to make military history as one of our greatest soldiers.

In his book "At Ease—Stories I Tell My Friends," the general said: "One Sunday afternoon after I'd been in Texas for some months, I walked out of the bachelor officer quarters to make a guard post inspection as Officer of the Day.

#### MAJOR'S WIFE

"On the sidewalk across the street was a small group of people, one of whom was Lulu Harris, wife of a major.

"Ike," she called, 'won't you come over here? I have some people I'd like you to meet.'

"'Sorry, Mrs. Harris,' I called back, 'I'm on guard duty and have to start an inspection trip.'

"She then turned to one young girl, as I discovered later, and said, 'Humph! The woman hater of the post.'

"The girl said something to Mrs. Harris that caused her to call once more. 'We didn't ask you to come over to stay. Just come over and meet these friends of mine.'

#### CROSSED STREET

Lt. Eisenhower did cross the street in front of Bldg. 688, on Infantry Post Road and was introduced to the Doud family of Denver, Colo., who were spending the winter in San Antonio.

This was the first meeting of Ike and his beloved Mamie. And it did not end with a simple introduction. The young officer promptly asked the attractive and captivating 18-year-old Miss Doud if she would care to walk along with him on his rounds of the guard posts. She just as promptly accepted the invitation, although she admitted in later years that walking was not one of her favorite forms of exercise.

On Valentine's Day, 1916, Ike gave Mamie his West Point class ring and formally asked her father for her hand in marriage. He almost didn't get it.

Only his deep love for little Mamie kept Dwight D. Eisenhower from becoming one of this nation's first pioneer pilots. He desperately wanted to join the aviation section of the Signal Corps, as the Air Force was called in those days. However, Mr. Doud considered flying the sign of an irresponsible character and threatened to withdraw his consent to the marriage, Ike stayed on the ground.

On July 1, 1916, the Eisenhowers were married in Denver, Colo., at the Central Presbyterian Church. The bride received a wedding ring purchased from Hertzberg's Jewelry Store in San Antonio and the groom received a promotion to first lieutenant.

Following a 10-day honeymoon, the couple returned to Ft. Sam Houston to take up life in Ike's old quarters at 688 Infantry Post.

#### BRIEF VISIT

In February, 1959, Mrs. Eisenhower paid a brief visit to San Antonio. Asked about her first home at Ft. Sam Houston she was most explicit in describing the quarters. She said that she and the general had started their married life in "the building to the left hand entrance of Infantry Post, the second stairway, the first floor, the apartment on the left."

With this information officials of the Army post were able to place a historical marker over the entrance to the quarters.

Shortly after their marriage, Lt. Eisenhower was made Ft. Sam Houston provost marshal, a job he held until the spring of 1917 when his unit, the 19th Infantry, was detailed to Camp Wilson adjacent to the main post. Ike went to Camp Wilson as regimental supply officer and assistant mustering officer for the Southern Department.

#### LEON SPRINGS

When the 19th Infantry formed the 57th Infantry and moved to Leon Springs for training, Ike went along with the unit. It was at Leon Springs that one of the most unusual experiences of his life occurred. He was struck by lightning while standing under a tree in front of his tent.

Not only was Eisenhower knocked unconscious by the bolt, but the 57th's adjutant, Capt. Walton Walker, was also hit. Neither man suffered any permanent damage and, in fact, received a certain amount of local acclaim after their commanding officer Col. David J. Baker, made it known that he was the only regimental commander in the Army whose entire staff had been struck by lightning and lived to tell the tale.

On Sept. 18, 1917, promoted to captain, Ike left Ft. Sam Houston for Ft. Oglethorpe, Ga., here he served as an instructor in the officer training camp. The Eisenhower family did not return to Ft. Sam Houston for almost 25 years.

#### YEAR BETWEEN

The years between World War I and the fall of 1941 were years of peace and years in which a career Army officer moved slowly up through the ranks while serving in various positions within the military establishment. Eisenhower was a tank corps commander, an executive officer and a recreation officer, at different times and places during this period of time.

He was promoted to major on June 17, 1918 and to lieutenant colonel on Oct. 14, 1918. These were temporary ranks however, and it was not until July 2, 1920 that he was given the permanent rank of major and not until 16 years later, on July 1, 1936, that he became a permanent lieutenant colonel.

On July 1, 1941, their 25th wedding anniversary, with Eisenhower newly promoted to the rank of full colonel, Mamie and Ike returned to Ft. Sam Houston, where their life together had begun. They moved into Bldg. 177 on Artillery Post Road and two months later to Bldg. 179, quarters the couple were to occupy until the outbreak of World War II, a few short months later.

#### CHIEF OF STAFF

On Aug. 1, 1941, Col. Eisenhower was assigned to duty as chief of staff of the 3rd Army under Gen. Walter Krueger.

In the months of August and September, 1941, Eisenhower, Gen. Krueger and the 3rd Army met the forces of Gen. Ben Lear's Second Army in the famous Louisiana Maneuvers.

At the close of the Louisiana maneuvers, Col. Eisenhower received his first star and promotion to brigadier general in ceremonies held on Ft. Sam Houston's Treat Field, directly across the street from his quarters at 179 Artillery Post.

On Dec. 7, 1941, Brig. Gen. Eisenhower ate lunch and took a nap. The nap was very brief. Shortly after he had retired his aide woke him to bring the news of the bombing of Pearl Harbor.

#### WEEK LATER

One week later on Dec. 14, Eisenhower, on verbal orders from Gen. George C. Marshall, chief of staff, reported to Washington, D.C. and the War Department.

He did not return to Ft. Sam Houston again. However, he and Mrs. Eisenhower remembered the old Army post where they had met and established their first home.

In September, 1967, a large package arrived at the Ft. Sam Houston Military Museum. It contained a pair of polished riding boots, one tropical worsted shirt and a pair of wool riding pants. The uniform was from Gen. Eisenhower and was one he had worn during the North African campaigns of World War II.

#### COLOR PHOTO

In 1968, he and Mrs. Eisenhower photographed a color photo of their quarters at 179 Artillery Post for historical purposes and Mrs. Eisenhower wrote a personal letter to the post's Historical Society, describing their experiences while serving in the house at the outbreak of World War II.

Ike did not forget Ft. Sam Houston—and Ft. Sam Houston will never forget him.

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, the late President Eisenhower had a close association with the Seventh Congressional District of Virginia. His mother was born in Augusta County, a short distance from Fort Defiance, a small community near Staunton, in the historic Shenandoah Valley. In fact, a number of the late President's distant kinsman are residents of that area today.

This association was a source of great pride to the citizens not only of this area but, indeed, of the entire Commonwealth of Virginia. The general received an enthusiastic welcome when, in the fall of 1960, he paid a visit to his mother's birthplace and to Staunton, Va.

His death marks the passing of one of the remaining few world figures who were the architects of allied victory in World War II. In this regard, we see the passing not only of a man, but of an era. Countless thousands have honored by word and respectful presence the virtues of this great American leader whose public service covered such a broad horizon of human endeavors ranging from military leader to college president to Chief Executive. Many can extol better than I his innumerable achievements and contributions to his country and to humanity.

In a world that is a violent one, where many governments are likely to be dictatorial and tyrannical as opposed to democratic, we see in this national loss the passing of a leader elected by the people because they respected and admired him.

When you look at the life of Eisenhower, his dedication to democracy, to the dignity of the individual, and basic decent morality, he stands as an outstanding example of leadership in a world that needs such examples.

His life is in contrast to a number of contemporary heads of government. How

unlike Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin does he stand forth as a head of state.

How unlike Castro, Kossygin, Khrushchev, and Ho Chi-minh is this man who dedicated his life to the service of his country and recognized the innate worth of the individual.

To him, power came from the people and should be used on their behalf, rather than for the ambitions and whims of any individual or privileged few.

Like so many others, I had hoped for him a recovery in order that he might return to Gettysburg and continue to enjoy what was a well-earned and looked-forward-to retirement, while ready to serve his country, as he always was, with wise and straightforward counsel to younger men who acceded to the responsibilities of national leadership.

He was a fine example of what this country can produce, and the most fitting monument America can erect to him is one honoring him for this example of the greatness this country can produce for the service of humanity.

It is an example the world will miss.

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, as an Air Force pilot during the Korean war, the words "I like Ike" summed up for me a genuine, honest-to-goodness affection for my Commander in Chief. Although I never met him, he was a friend—one could accept this with complete assurance because of the quality of Dwight David Eisenhower, the man.

And this afternoon the bells will toll.

Can we hear them?

For whom do the bells toll, Mr. Speaker? They toll for me; they toll for you; they toll for the American people; they toll for all men. We are all diminished by his passing.

My thoughts and prayers are with his family and loved ones.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, General Eisenhower was a great man in every sense of the word. He was an all-American man, universally accepted as the epitome of all that is good. Honest, able, courageous, his every act was in keeping with the highest standards of human behavior.

As I stood in the rotunda of the U.S. Capitol yesterday afternoon and witnessed the placing of General Eisenhower's casket on the catafalque, I was overwhelmed by the memory of the man.

As the leader of our combat forces in the European theater in World War II, I can well remember the manner of the man, the positive nature of his remarks, the assurance he exuded to the free world on the evening of the Normandy invasion on June 6, 1944. I clearly recall the series of military successes that followed which brought about the ultimate surrender of the Axis Powers the following May.

As the elected leader of our Government, he again exhibited his ability to lead and to bring about peace to a fractured international scene. Shortly after his assumption of the Presidency in 1952, he announced the signing of an armistice in Korea, which brought to an end another era of costly conflict.

General Eisenhower's long and successful career can best be summarized by the expressions of those that come to pay their last respects to him as the lies



in state this very moment in the rotunda of the U.S. Capitol. The people come out of admiration for a man who was loved and revered by all who knew him, who imbued in the world in which he lived a spirit of good will and cooperation. They come because "they liked Ike." We all did, and we will sadly miss him.

Mr. HORTON. "Ike" Eisenhower was a unique American hero.

He was a military leader whose biggest battle was for peace. He was a President who gave outstanding moral leadership to his people. He was an exemplary family man.

Affection for this late President transcends national boundaries. He was a world leader loved by men everywhere. His passing creates a void in our Nation that may never be filled.

The greatness of America and the promise it holds for all its citizens is exemplified in the life of President Eisenhower. He was born of parents poor in material wealth but rich in moral strength. He drove himself to fulfill every obligation he undertook.

President Eisenhower rose to world stature. His death takes from us an inspiration of a past era.

The Nation stands still at this moment. We bow our heads in a silent prayer that we may gain strength and wisdom in following the path laid down by this great man.

Mrs. Horton and I, who both served under his command in North Africa and Europe, joined the tens of thousands of people who came to the Capitol Sunday to pay last respects to the late President. I watched as the historic, black-draped caisson moved with slow and stately majesty on its sad journey to the Capitol.

Throngs of people lined the hushed streets of Washington to watch the progress of the flag-covered casket.

Despite the damp, bone-chilling cold of the afternoon, and even through snow and rain that fell briefly, the people stood patiently and respectfully. Many brought young children.

I heard one woman explain to a preschool youngster: "The old President was a great and good man. All these people have come to say goodbye to him, to show that they loved him."

The love and respect in which President Eisenhower was held was reflected in many ways Palm Sunday as the Nation paid its final tribute to him.

There were the traditional rites of the funeral march, the 21-gun salute, the honor guard from all the services.

But perhaps the greatest tribute was the heartfelt one paid by great and small, old and young, rich and poor as they gathered together at the Capitol to say a sad goodbye to the man they had called Ike, a man they all felt had served his country with noble self-sacrifice, far beyond what a nation could expect.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, five-star general, President, and elder statesman, was a man truly of the people. He rose from humble beginnings in a Kansas farming town to lead the Allied Armies to victory in Europe during World War II. General Eisenhower, the war hero, then became President Eisenhower, a man who

searched as hard for peace in the postwar world as he had for victory during the massive conflict before.

Although he first came to fame as a war leader, I will remember him as a seeker for peace.

President Eisenhower led us through those first frightening years of history when men possessed the power to destroy civilization.

The great affection of the people for him certainly sustained him through those difficult years. I could see, in the solemn faces of those who lined Washington's streets as the funeral cortege passed by, the affection held for President Eisenhower.

To honor the late President, the heads of state from scores of countries came to Washington for the funeral services. Tens of thousands of mourners filed past the closed casket in the rotunda of the Capitol.

As if in tribute to the late President, pink buds on the magnolia trees which line many of Washington's streets started to bloom early this morning.

In a stirring eulogy, President Nixon told of the general's last words to Mrs. Eisenhower. President Eisenhower had said.

I have always loved my wife. I have always loved my children. I have always loved my grandchildren. And I have always loved my country.

The people he loved and the people who loved him came in those few days to say, "Thank you, 'Ike'—and goodbye."

His life and his accomplishments should be a constant reminder that in these times of turmoil, unrest, and tension human qualities of sincerity, integrity, duty, love, and goodness are our ultimate solution.

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, Dwight D. Eisenhower was not only one of the most popular Presidents in American history. He was also a great patriot, whose deep love for freedom helped him achieve distinction in both military and political fields.

People of all political faiths found him a warm and sincere man, whose integrity was never questioned. Let us remember that the freedoms Americans enjoy today were preserved by his military brilliance and leadership.

Dwight D. Eisenhower's leadership qualities were so unique and strong, he was selected Supreme Commander of Allied Forces over hundreds of officers of higher rank in World War II. That decision helped America and her allies triumph over an enemy that was determined to not only rule Europe, but to subjugate the entire world.

Mr. Speaker, because of his magnificent service, he earned the permanent gratitude of not only our Nation, but the other free nations of the world. Dwight D. Eisenhower was respected for his abilities, admired for his courage, and loved for his great compassion for mankind.

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Dwight David Eisenhower was very much an American.

As the Christian Science Monitor put it in its March 29 editorial:

Perhaps no President in history was more deeply and recognizably American than was Dwight D. Eisenhower.

It was this quality—

The Monitor continues—

which so many millions abroad instantly felt upon meeting or seeing him. It was a quality of strength which served him admirably, not only during the Presidency but during his equally distinguished career as an Army officer.

The words so eloquently spoken by those in this Chamber today are testimony to General Eisenhower's character, ability, leadership, and humility.

I am deeply saddened by the death of General Eisenhower. Saddened in a personal sense and also because this man represents one of that group of men who brought us through some of our darkest days. The stature of an Eisenhower is not achieved without sacrifice or tribulation.

General Eisenhower was truly a hero, and this Nation can never repay its debt to his leadership of nations and people during the war, and as President of the United States.

Because I began my involvement in politics in that first Eisenhower-Nixon campaign by placing an "I Like Ike" bumper strip on my bicycle, I pause today to join the millions of people who are sad at his death. I want to express my respect for the man who today lies in state in this building.

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, when I searched my thoughts and feelings to find the words of praise and commemoration appropriate for our late and beloved Dwight David Eisenhower—the one which seems to best fit is "supreme" in every sense of its meaning.

Dwight Eisenhower's service to America as a nation; to its people as citizens and, indeed, to all mankind is uniquely unparalleled in modern times. Perhaps the foundation for this supremacy was inborn at his birth; only God knows that for a certainty. However, during the course of his lifetime, from 1890 to 1969, he developed his inborn characteristics through his love of God and for his country, so as to become known and cherished by his fellow countrymen, civilian and military in every walk and rank of life. The citizens of the world—no matter whether friend or foe—came to know this man as a soldier of war who fought valiantly in the name of peace, and did just exactly that—brought peace to our world during his lifetime on it. Never before has so small a word in measure, so colloquial in sound, meant the supreme recognition of everything good in a man as "Ike."

"Ike" fought for peace, for justice, and for tranquility.

As Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, he united the free world advocates into a victorious battle, but first he called upon Almighty God and beseeched Him to bless this crusade.

During his term as president of Columbia University, his countrymen called upon his qualities and characteristics of leadership to serve them as their President.

As the 34th President of the United States, he led America toward the goals

of peace, justice, and tranquillity. He once again brought peace to the forefront—this time in Korea. He applied his tact as a general to his performance as President, and he called upon the American people to unite into a great freedom loving force and moved them along the paths of peace, progress, and a better world relationship.

Then, as "Ike" began to fight the most difficult battle of his own personal life, the world prayed and fought in heartfelt sincerity of spirit, this battle which only he could really wage alone. He now lies within the peace and tranquillity of the almighty defender of us all.

Personally, as a major in the U.S. Army, I served as one of General Eisenhower's staff during World War II.

Later, as a Member of Congress, I again had the good fortune to serve while he was our Nation's Chief Executive. He was a perceptive planner; he was a man who could reach into the hearts of people, and a man who could get people to work together. As our President, he moved our country forward in the true tradition of its Founding Fathers.

We can best honor him by striving, whether as a private citizen or a public servant, to heed our Nation's calls or causes by continuing to work for the goals which he sought during his lifetime—goals which, if realized, will make this Nation and this world a much better place in which to live.

Such peace as we have now, even in these troubled times, is to a large degree, because of the leadership of this soldier-statesman. He achieved it through his qualities of warmth and candor and because of his confidence in the essential goodness of man. His selflessness was a unique quality in this age where most men and most countries are seeking to satisfy their physical wants.

Mr. Speaker, often I have seen these past few days, the American flag flying at half mast in full dignity and honor of the man we all knew as "Ike"—I can only pray that, as the flag of this country rises once again to its full height, so also will the principles for which "Ike" stood, will rise anew in the hearts and minds of the citizens of our great country and spill over into the hearts and minds of the world, in order that peace and tranquillity may reign supreme.

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I think every American feels a sense of personal loss at the death of General Eisenhower. He has been prominently identified with American history and progress since the early days of World War I, and this spans more than a generation.

During wartime he was entrusted with the highest allied command in the European theater, and subsequently a grateful country called him to the Presidency. His leadership both in peace and war was of the highest caliber and the heritage which he leaves is one of dedication to our country, to duty, and of calm acceptance of responsibility.

He knew the cost of defense, but he also knew a strong defense was essential to our Nation's security. He strove with dedication to chart a safe course for a lasting peace. No man could do more and at the time of his death a sorrowing

America pays homage to a great leader and remembers him with great appreciation.

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, Dwight David Eisenhower served the American Nation for more than half a century: as a great soldier who led us and the European democracies against brutal totalitarian regimes; as president of a great American university; as President of the United States through difficult and demanding years; and as an inspiring source of courage and resolve in his later years when illness never conquered the greatness of his spirit. He symbolizes the strength of our Nation which drew him to the highest seats of power and responsibility from humble origins in the prairie. In his life he enacted the ideal of America, to work with each other and with other nations with reason and compassion. Above all else, he advised against despair, against giving up on ourselves. He counseled all Americans to face the perils of our future with the courage of our fathers.

General Eisenhower lived a full and rewarding life, and his courageous struggle to live is in itself a memorial to his immense personal integrity, his joy in living and serving. His struggle was long and painful. Yet his will to live, along with his ability to live fully, provide example for all.

His own admonition to the cadets at the Air Force Academy in 1959 is an excellent comment on his own life. He said then:

The one admonition I would give you is this: make sure you get enjoyment out of every day. Life should be a thing to enjoy. Make certain your face doesn't grow long as the day grows older. Go to bed with a smile and remember a fine day. And with that custom, I am quite sure you will find a long, happy, and fruitful life, fruitful to yourself, to your country, and to humanity.

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Speaker, like many of my colleagues, I never had the privilege of serving in a National Government headed by Dwight David Eisenhower. Time flows quickly, and people come and go in our National Legislature. Nevertheless, I do not speak only as a citizen when I express my admiration for his contribution to the life of America. No one who has at any time served in Washington and understood the burdens of the Presidency can fail to have some special feeling about the grace with which General Eisenhower exercised the power of the greatest office in the world. He sensed the mood of the people, he understood their heartfelt thoughts, he identified with their fondest hopes in ways which permitted him to be much more than a leader in the classical sense; he was instead a friend, a kinsman, a partner in a common endeavor. Confidence is born of this feeling of identity, and confidence is the ingredient which makes democracy possible.

When such a man passes into history we feel a sense of personal loss even though we know that Government leaders must come and go, each leaving his own legacy. Who of us can judge the historic legacy of Dwight Eisenhower? Let us say, however, that we have lost a friend in whom we had confidence, a counsellor whose judgment we trusted, a warm and honest and unfettered spirit.

Mr. Speaker, may I add a special word of tribute to Mrs. Eisenhower, a lady I have never met, but of whose sympathetic contributions to her husband's career I am as sure as I am of today's sense of loss in his passing. We offer her our heartfelt best wishes at a time which must be very difficult for her.

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, death came Friday to a great American. While it may have stilled one great and noble heart, it stirred anew in other hearts, including millions who fought beside him for freedom, solemn thoughts of the massive debt mankind owes to his memory.

Not since our Founding Fathers has an American soldier-statesman received the respect, reverence, and love accorded Dwight Eisenhower by the people of the world. He was a man worthy of any age. He belonged to our generation. He needs no monument, no cause, no cult. He was indeed a great American. I can think of no greater accolade—the true greatness of a humble man who responded to the call of duty from his countrymen. We shall all miss him.

Mr. LATTI. Mr. Speaker, General Eisenhower was not only a great military and political leader but he was a great moral leader, as well. History may well record him in this capacity ahead of the other two. He possessed a unique moral quality that few men possess and never failed to show it wherever and whenever he appeared. His deeds and his actions made people so aware of this quality that no one ever doubted that actions taken by him were morally right. Such a quality is indeed a rarity and it was good for America and it was good for all humanity. The world will miss his goodness.

Mrs. Latta joins with me in extending deepest sympathy to Mrs. Eisenhower and members of her family.

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, there are many Members of this Congress assembled here today who have lost, with the death of Dwight David Eisenhower, more than a general and a President, more than a great man to be admired from a distance, and more than an image to which we pay respect because of his noticeable accomplishments. To us, as is the case with thousands of Americans and other citizens of the world, his death marks the passing of that rare kind of leader whose humility, energy, and understanding drew toward him our deepest confidence and highest respect. We looked to him as a man who enjoyed virtually every honor which the world could bestow on a single individual, but who remained unspoiled by the tributes. As a great soldier and hero, he was yet a man who longed only for a just and lasting peace. As a distinguished President, he was a man who used political power only to build and strengthen his country, and abhorred the weaknesses that the abuse of political power brought forth in lesser men.

His accomplishments as a military leader need not be glorified, for the fact that we are here today as free men to express ourselves in this manner is in no small part a result of his efforts. As a commander of the armies of many nations in an allied cause, his qualities of



leadership earned the praise of the leaders of the free world and the confidence of its fighting men.

His accomplishments as a President can now, in retrospect, be looked upon with longing. He successfully guided us through two terms of peace and prosperity. He served us in a time when anything short of his great knowledge of the realities of power, how it should be regarded and used, could have brought grave consequences. He brought to the Presidency a calm, quiet resolve to be guided by God and commonsense, to accomplish what he could with a humility and a trust in what is good and in what is right. And accomplish he did, for the trust was returned to him a thousandfold, and the love which he felt for his country is now and has been reflected by the love which his country feels for him, as well as the grateful thanks given to him for his role in making America mean what it does to all the people of the free world.

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, Dwight Eisenhower leaves us in the fullness of years, weighted with all the honors a grateful, admiring people can bestow.

Even though within the divine order of things, his loss is a grievous one. We will miss his breadth of experience, the sense of proportion and judgment which he always applied to great problems, and the smile that warmed our hearts.

We have lost one of the truly great men of American history. In war and in peace, the Eisenhower record will stand always as a testament to his enduring qualities of greatness. His courage, integrity and wisdom, his abiding faith in God and country, his humility, his uncomplicated, forthright character are qualities in the American tradition. They are the qualities which have made our Nation great and which have sustained us in hours of darkness.

They are qualities without which our Nation would be destroyed, as with other nations who have lost the faiths and strayed from the simple truths which inspired their foundings.

To have been acquainted with Dwight Eisenhower I shall always count as among the highest privileges of my life. He radiated integrity and unselfishness. He buoyed you up and lifted your spirits. One of the happiest benefits of our electronic age is that men like Eisenhower can be seen and studied by each new generation. What a tremendous advantage they have if they will but use it.

Through this wonderful medium coupled with his written word they, too, can come to know and understand the qualities of this great man. They, too, can someday sense something of the magic of his personality which no mere words in history books can quite convey.

So the sadness and loss we bear today is leavened by our sense of good fortune in having shared some portion of our life and times with Dwight Eisenhower. It is leavened, too, by our sense of triumphant pride in his human greatness. I think it is fair to say that no President except, perhaps, Washington has ever left office enjoying greater public affection. As President Nixon told us yesterday in the rotunda, that affection is

worldwide, wherever freedom is cherished, deep rooted in the hearts of his fellow man.

I cannot close these heartfelt remarks without paying homage, too, to Mrs. Eisenhower. Her faith and graciousness and love for her husband have endured through these grievous days and set for us all yet another example of extreme grace under great stress.

Mr. GRIFFIN. I join in paying tribute to the life and character of Dwight David Eisenhower—one of America's foremost leaders. On March 28—last Friday—the inevitable took from our midst a patriot, a soldier, a statesman, a gentleman. Throughout his entire life, Dwight David Eisenhower exhibited those traits of virtue and decency which are required of men who must lead men in time of war and in time of peace.

Mr. Speaker, Ike is gone; but his good deeds will linger in the memory of Americans as long as there is an America.

In an eloquent, front-page editorial, the Vicksburg, Miss., Evening Post noted the Nation's loss and recalled the occasion on July 4, 1947, when, as Army Chief of Staff, General Eisenhower was in Vicksburg to accept that city's "surrender" to the United States. As a part of my remarks, I include the editorial, which follows:

#### IKE IS GONE

The Word flashed around the world. One of the great figures of modern history has gone to his reward. The old soldier just "faded away". The rugged constitution which had withstood numerous heart attacks, three major surgeries, pneumonia and other ailments, finally won the victory over the stout-hearted soldier who not only won his victories in the greatest war of history, but also conquered the hearts of his countrymen and of the world. He was "Ike" to America—a military genius, a great president, but more than that, he was possessed of a wonderful personality which endeared him to his countrymen and to those who served under his various commands.

He is remembered with great affection in Vicksburg, where, twenty-two years ago he came as the featured speaker at a great July Fourth celebration here. We well remember his words—"Instead of accepting the 'surrender' of Vicksburg, I confess that I have surrendered to the warmth of your welcome and to the graciousness of your hospitality." He took Vicksburg by the force of his great personality, and this was genuinely reflected in the splendid vote he received each time he ran for the Presidency. Vicksburg voted for "Ike".

He was the greatest military figure of the century, and the manner in which he forged into a great command the armies of many nations, remains as one of his most brilliant feats. It was this ability to bring forth a united force that resulted in the fall of the German empire.

A great man, a splendid citizen, a truly great American has answered the last roll call. As the nation pays homage to his memory, the spirit of this outstanding American should rekindle in the breasts of the people of our nation, a dedication to our country, which was the foremost quality of our former President.

The drums are muffled. Taps is sounding. Ike has gone. May he gain the reward promised to all who serve, and serve well.

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, while we knew of General Eisenhower's declining health we were still unprepared for his passing. We are deeply saddened that

his intense personality and famous smile that radiated confidence throughout the world will no longer be with us.

General Eisenhower symbolized and typified an entire era. He played a major role in the struggle of free peoples to remain free as an officer in World War I, as Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, as commander of NATO, as President in ending the Korean war, and in his decision to support South Vietnam. He encouraged the cause of freedom to stand fast when the world was threatened with total war and anarchy.

As Supreme Commander of the Allied forces during World War II in Europe, I knew firsthand of his superb accomplishments. He was unsurpassed in welding together an invincible fighting machine from so many diverse elements. As a soldier, near General Bradley's headquarters in Normandy, I learned of his diplomacy, his tact, and his ability to inspire confidence and cooperation from all branches of the service and from the armed forces of our allies. His selection by the President, and by General Marshall, as Supreme Commander in Europe proved to be a wise choice. His name became the symbol of a great crusade. He was admired and respected and loved by the free world. He even became the hope of many of the German people who had been enslaved by the raving Hitler and who saw in Eisenhower relief from slavery and oppression. His name became synonymous with justice as opposed to infamy and oppression.

When General Eisenhower became commander of NATO, it was my privilege to visit with him there at headquarters near Paris as a young Member of the Congress. I remember General Eisenhower telling us that 95 percent of his work as Allied commander and as NATO commander was diplomatic and political. He simply had, in a magnificent way, the ability to reject jealousy and envy and get people together. He was NATO commander during a critical time. When the forces of oppression and slavery threatened to engulf Europe, he inspired the peoples of Western Europe and caused them to stand firm during those critical years.

Dwight David Eisenhower, as President of the United States, provided for the American people, and those of the free world, a fatherly image of kindness and fairness. His smile, his winning personality, his character, and his modesty led America to the heights in the postwar era. We have not had a more popular President or general. The people loved "Ike." He was the one they wanted their sons and daughters to serve under in war. He was the one they wanted to lead them in peacetime. He respected the Office of the Presidency and advised and consulted with succeeding Presidents.

As an elder statesman, he was truly great. As a general, he will rank with Douglas MacArthur, George Washington, the Duke of Marlborough, the Duke of Wellington, and Robert E. Lee. Like them, he will be noted for his integrity, compassion, and devotion to, and respect for, the individual and those less fortunate. As President of the United States he will be

associated with those virtues and attributes of character associated with the greatest.

I extend on the part of my fellow South Carolinians our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Eisenhower, his distinguished and devoted son, and all of their great and wonderful family.

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, our former Commander in Chief, leader of the crusade in Europe, and two-term President has left us. We are all better men in a greater Nation because of our work with him.

Dwight David Eisenhower, general and President, gave his whole life to the service of his country. He led America's armies and then the whole Nation with rare strength and ability.

General Eisenhower believed strongly in the right and in the necessity of America pursuing the moral and right course. He had great spiritual faith and he tried to give that faith to America. He said that "faith is our surest strength, our greatest resource." Much of the courage and strength of America, through World War II and the darkest days of the cold war, was strength gained from the example of this leader of men.

It was my privilege to serve in the Congress for 6 of the years of President Eisenhower's two terms. He was never partisan; never a leader of part of the people. He was truly a national leader; a leader of all Americans—loved by all Americans.

No one can question that his greatest accomplishment was to lead us to peace and keep us in peace.

Yet he may be remembered even more for his spiritual accomplishment, for his integrity, for his honesty, for the moral example he gave us all. General Eisenhower's great contemporary, Sir Winston Churchill, wrote most beautifully of the place of men in history:

History with its flickering lamp stumbles along the trail of the past, trying to reconstruct its scenes, to revive its echoes, and kindle with pale gleams the passion of former days. What is the worth of all this? The only guide to a man is his conscience; the only shield to his memory is the rectitude and sincerity of his actions. With this shield, however the fates may play, we march always in the ranks of honor.

General Eisenhower always marched in the ranks of honor; he will always live in the minds of honorable men.

Dwight David Eisenhower said that "men grow in stature only as they daily rededicate themselves to a noble faith." With the example of this leader before us, let us all rededicate ourselves to the faith which he had—to his faith in man, to his faith in America, to his faith in the right.

Again, my sympathy to his courageous family. May God bless them in this hour of grief.

Mr. McCORMACK. So we say to our dear beloved friend, Dwight David Eisenhower, not goodbye, but good day.

#### REMOVE PROFIT FROM THE WAR ON POVERTY

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, I have on many occasions called the attention of the House to excess profits in defense

procurement. I am equally concerned that for recent months evidence has grown that there is profit in the war on poverty, too.

When I voted for the Economic Opportunity Act and its subsequent amendments, I believed that I was doing the right thing; I still believe that there is no more urgent national priority than the abolition of poverty in this country. I have, however, been disturbed by the proliferation of consultants, advisers, and other contractors who have attached themselves to the war on poverty. I have no idea of the number of instant experts available, but have every reason to believe that it is considerable. Moreover, there can be no guarantee that a consultant hired by OEO or any of its delegate agencies is in fact an expert in his field. I doubt that notwithstanding this fact there is no single community action agency of any substantial size that does not have one or more consultants working for it. A consultant can draw up project proposals, shepherd them through the bureaucracy, furnish new ideas, or redraw old proposals. He can generate a proposal at the drop of a hat and can on call advise anyone on any subject, all for a fee. What concerns me is that the profits made by these consultants are considerable, and that there is no assurance at all that a community action agency does itself any good by hiring consultants.

What is more disturbing is that OEO—and it is not unique among Federal agencies—can use a private firm to do things which it could not otherwise accomplish. Such services cost more than they otherwise would, but that is of no concern. For example, if a manpower ceiling threatens to cut off the establishment of a desired project, the agency simply hires a private firm as a funding vehicle. Then, the program is not one operated by OEO, but by a contractor, and the personnel are not chargeable to OEO. Some such projects go awry, in which case the Government agency does not have to take the blame, but can pass it on to its contractor. But the basic fact remains that in such a tactic, the contractor is essentially used as a dummy. He gets well paid for doing little or nothing, except perhaps permitting his firm to be used as a name on a bank account. I do not believe that this is a sound tactic for any Government agency, but least of all for OEO. I do not believe that the poor can afford to let their little budget be tapped for dummy accounts.

There is profit in the war on poverty. That is evident from the number of consultants and contractors around. There is nothing to show that the community action programs work any better for all the efforts of these experts, or so-called experts. On the other hand, there is some reason to believe that at least some contracts would have been better off left never signed. It might have been better for profit never to have entered into the war on poverty.

#### COAL MINE SAFETY

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, Ben A. Franklin, of the New York Times, has written an outstanding analysis of coal mine safety and

health issues, which appeared in the New York Times Magazine of March 28. This article deserves the thoughtful consideration of all Members in assessing the pending legislation on this subject. I trust that the facts contained in this article will stimulate all Members to take positive action in support of effective legislation to protect those who have suffered so long in the coal mines. In the name of humanity, Mr. Speaker, we must act to protect our fellow human beings who work in the coal mines.

The article follows:

THE SCANDAL OF DEATH AND INJURY IN THE MINES—MORE THAN 120,000 MINERS HAVE DIED VIOLENTLY

(By Ben A. Franklin)

"Of the 54 men in the mine, only two who happened to be in some crevices near the mouth of the shaft escaped with life. Nearly all the internal works of the mine were blown to atoms. Such was the force of the explosion that a basket then descending, containing three men, was blown nearly 100 feet into the air. Two fell out and were crushed to death, and a third remained in, and, with the basket, was thrown some 70 to 80 feet from the shaft, breaking both his legs and arms."

These sentences matter-of-factly describing the pulverization of a shift of coal miners, including the three men grotesquely orbited out of the mine shaft as if launched from a missile silo, are from the first detailed record of an American mine disaster. Antiquity probably explains the nursery rhyme quality—"two fell down and broke their crowns . . ." For this earliest remembered mine catastrophe, in the Black Heath pit near Richmond, Va., occurred March 18, 1839.

A primitive time, no doubt. The nation was then so new that Martin Van Buren, warming his feet at the coal-burning grates in the White House, was the first President to have been born a United States citizen. The daguerrotype was introduced here that year by Samuel F. B. Morse, while awaiting the issuance of a patent on his telegraph. Half the coal-producing states were not yet in the Union.

The coal mines, on the threshold of fueling a manufacturing explosion that was to make this country an unmatched industrial power, produced barely one million tons in 1839, less than 1/500th of the output today. In the absence of all but the crudest technology, men relying on the death flutterings of caged canaries to warn them of imminent suffocation obviously would die in the mines. Some mines employed suicidal specialists known as "cannoneers," whose mission was to crawl along the tunnel floors under a wet canvas before a shift, igniting "puffs" of mine gas near the roof with in unpraised candle. Dead miners were not even counted. Their enormous casualty rate was not archived until less than 100 years ago.

A glimpse into this dim crevice of American industrial history is necessary to put into perspective the myths and realities of the men who work in the mines today. For the real story of coal is not its multiplying inanimate statistics—tons and carloadings and days lost in strikes. It is the agony of those men—a tale as old as Black Heath and one that is so full of extravagantly evil personalities and atrocious acts that Charles Dickens would have loved to tell it. For behind and beneath the mountains of the Appalachian coalfield, miners have remained since Black Heath the most systematically exploited and expendable class of citizens (with the possible exception of the American Indian and the Negro) in this country.

The story at last may have an un-Dickensian ending. For now, coal miners can see light at the end of the tunnel. In this 1969 spring, 130 years after the Black Heath dis-



aster, the mining industry may finally agree to pay the modest cost of keeping its work force alive, of abandoning the embedded idea that men are cheaper than coal. And—small pittance—we may all be involved in helping pay what it costs to write this long delayed postscript to the industrial revolution; the price of bringing miners into the 20th century probably will appear, as we shall see, as pennies on our electric bills.

In the context of technological advancement in nearly every other area of human enterprise, very little has changed for men who go down to the mines in shafts. Only four months ago, 78 coal miners were trapped and killed below ground in West Virginia in one of the most volcanic eruptions of explosion and fire in the memory of Federal mine inspectors. As at Black Heath, the explosion at the Consolidation Coal Company's 27-square-mile No. 9 mine at Farmington, W. Va., almost certainly was caused by an ignition of methane gas, a volatile, highly flammable, usually odorless and invisible hydrocarbon gas liberated from virgin coal.

At Consol No. 9, a modern, "safe" mine operated by one of the wealthy giants of the industry, the daily methane emission was 8 million cubic feet, enough to supply the heating and cooking needs of a small city if it were captured and sold. The explosion hazard was dealt with there as it is generally in mining today, by only modestly more sophisticated methods than those at Black Heath.

Fresh air is drawn into the mines by giant fans and circulated and directed constantly through the honeycomb of tunnels by means of doors, ducts or sometimes by curtains called brattices (miners call them "brad-dishes"). The intake air is supposed to dilute and, by law, "render harmless or carry away" the methane and hold the mine atmosphere to less than the legal limit of 1 per cent gas. Unless coal dust is mixed with it—in which case the explosion threshold drops significantly—methane will not ignite or explode in concentrations of less than 5 per cent. Miners live and die today on a margin of 4 percentage points—or less if coal dust is suspended in the air.<sup>1</sup>

It is known that the giant electric mining machines in use for the last 20 years—machines that chew up and claw coal from the face with rotary bits the size of railroad wheels—churn up an immense amount of dust. The machines have water sprays to settle the dust. But the machines' rapid rate of advance through the seam also liberates much methane.

The first explosion at Consol No. 9 came at 5:25 A.M., Nov. 20, during the canteen shift. It was a day after the passage over northern West Virginia of a cold front accompanied by an abrupt drop in barometric pressure. In the primitive mythology of mine safety, these natural events—the arrival of cold, dry air and a barometric low, which increases the methane liberation in a mine—have been associated for years with disasters. The legendary great mine explosions, from Monongah and Darr in 1907, Rachel & Agnes in 1908 and on up to Orient No. 2 in 1951, have occurred in November and December and in cold, dry weather. The dry air dehumidifies a mine and sets coal dust in motion.

Every fall through 1967, the United Mine Workers Journal had published a fraternal warning to union brothers to observe special precautions in "the explosion season." But, no research having been done in a century of such meteorological coincidences, the in-

dustrial can and does take no account of what it, therefore, regards as a folklore factor—which might interfere with production. The U.M.W. Journal had not got around to running the 1968 warning when Consol No. 9 blew up. "We figured afterward it would be no use," a Journal editor said later.

No one yet knows what death befell the 78 men in No. 9. Miners who survive the shock wave, heat and afterdamp (carbon monoxide) of an underground explosion are instructed to barricade themselves in good air, if any, and await rescue. But during the nine days and nights that rescue teams stood by helplessly on the surface at Farmington, there were at least 16 further explosions in the mine. The first blast had burst up 600 feet through the portals and ventilation shafts, blowing the internal works of the mine to atoms and knocking out ventilation circuits. At the top, the main shaft became the muzzle of a mammoth subterranean cannon. The massive headframe, a trestled structure of bridge-size steel I-beams that supported the main hoist, was blown apart. For days, a boiling plume of poisonous black smoke alternately belched from the shaft and then unaccountably reversed its flow and inhaled, bursting forth again with renewed detonations below.

Finally, on Nov. 29, all five shafts and portals at the mine were sealed—capped and made airtight with tons of rock, steel and concrete. Not for months, until engineers are certain that restoring ventilation will not reignite coked embers and trigger the millions of cubic feet of methane collecting in the primordial atmosphere below, will Farmington's dead be disinterred from their gassy grave. The same mine was sealed for more than a year following a less violent explosion in 1954 that killed 16 men (including one, Black Heath-style, topside near the mine mouth), and fires continued to burn in sealed sections of the mine even after production was resumed.

If entombing a mine fire to control it seems primitive in this day of chemical fire fighting agents and automatic deluge sprinkler systems, it is futuristic, compared with the industry's performance in disaster prevention. There have been profitable technological advances in the extraction of coal from the seam, and today the industry is on the brink of such a long, secure production boom that big oil companies, with some of the sharpest eyes for markets and profits in the business world, are buying up and merging with coal companies at a rapid rate. But production economies in the past have more often than not been at the expense of human economies, and Big Oil may be surprised to find itself saddled with coal's amazing insensitivity to mayhem and death. It was the fatalistic acceptance of Farmington more than the disaster itself (President Nixon has since criticized this acceptance of death as "as much a part of the job as the tools and the tunnels") that finally started the mine-safety revolution.

At first, at the daily post-explosion news conferences in Consol's cinderblock company store near Farmington (many miners are still today in debt to their employers' merchandising subsidiaries for nearly a full paycheck before they are paid), William Poundstone, Consol's executive vice president for mining operations, insisted that the mine was "only technically gassy." W. R. Park, a senior Federal mine inspector familiar for years with the mine, insisted it was "extremely gassy," and John Roberts, a Consol public relations man, called it "excessively gassy." Roberts, a master of malapropism who greeted the news corps before one vigil news conference by asking cheerily, "Are all the bodies here?" also described the No. 9 explosion hazard as "something that we have to live with."

Then came the parade of V.I.P.'s. U.M.W. president W. A. (Tony) Boyle came to the mine head not only to congratulate Consol

on being "one of the better companies as far as cooperation and safety are concerned," but to add that if this "safe" mine blew up, "you can imagine what the rest are like." "As long as we mine coal," said Boyle, the philosophical miners' ombudsman "there is always this inherent danger of explosion." The then Assistant Secretary of the Interior, J. Cordell Moore, the Department's top minerals man, flew up from Washington to add that "unfortunately—we don't understand why these things happen—but they do happen," and to venture that "the company here has done all in its power to make this a safe mine." (In fact, Moore's own Bureau of Mines had reported substandard rock dusting at Consol No. 9—the most basic of explosion-prevention measures involves rendering coal dust inert with 65 percent crushed limestone—in all 24 of its inspections there since 1963. The Bureau had cited No. 9 for 25 other safety violations since December 1966. Moore probably saw nothing unusual in that because violations are the norm in most mines.)

Hulett C. Smith, then the Governor of West Virginia, also stood before the television cameras and observed more in sadness than in anger that "we must recognize that this is a hazardous business and what has occurred here is one of the hazards of being a miner."

With that, the fuse, delayed so long, finally blew in Washington. The then Secretary of the Interior, Stewart L. Udall, after eight years of more concern for California redwoods than for miners, denounced the whole system of coal mining—the technological and moral systems—as "unacceptable." As an astonished layman, Udall noted that Consol was mining "in an area that really is a low-grade gas field" and that "obviously it is not a solution that is completely adequate to dilute the gas by pumping in air." Within three weeks, Udall summoned a national coal-safety conference which turned out to be one of the most amazing gatherings in bureaucratic history. In a Soviet-style mood of confession, Udall publicly admitted that "we have accepted, even condoned an attitude of fatalism that belongs to an age darker than the deepest recess of any coal mine. At every level of responsibility, from the individual miner to the highest councils of Government, we have looked with horror on the specters of death and disease that haunt our mines. Then we have shrugged our shoulders and said to ourselves, 'Well, coal mining is an inherently hazardous business' or 'It's too bad, of course, but as long as coal is mined men inevitably will die underground.' These easy rationalizations are no longer acceptable in this time in history."

The stubborn Black Heath syndrome—so costly in human life and so profitable to the industry—finally was broken. Within a week, Bureau of Mines Director John F. O'Leary, on the job one month, issued orders to his inspectors. They were to cease immediately giving prior notification of impending inspections to the operators, a practice known for years to encourage a sudden, temporary kind of mine housecleaning for the benefit of the inspector—"baking a cake," one inspector called it. They were to cease reviewing mine violation reports with owners. Where violations occurred involving imminent danger of explosion, they were no longer merely to write them down as before, they were to close the mine. The list was startling for what it said about past practices.

It is hard to tell which is more gripping—the penny-pinching, corner-cutting and profiteering waste of human life in mines still operated today—Black Heath-style—with bland abandon of what the U.S. Bureau of Mines calls "ordinary regard for safety," or the callous result, the history of human carnage in the mines. The record to date, even the most contemporary chapters of it, is appalling. In the 100 years that par-

<sup>1</sup> One example of the retarded technology of mine safety is that miners testing for gas still rely today on the Glame safety lamp of Sir Humphrey Davy, perfected more than 150 years ago. The safety lamp is rugged and safe if used properly, but it requires highly skilled operators to read it accurately, and then its accuracy is no more than half a percentage point—or 10 per cent of the margin between survival and explosion.

tial records of fatal mine accidents have been kept (the early figures are incomplete) more than 120,000 men have died violently in coal mines, an average of 100 every month for a century. The total does not include those who died of what passes for "natural causes" in work that is as notoriously hazardous to health as it is to life and limb. Today, among men aged 60 to 64, the "natural" death rate of miners is eight times that of workers in any other industrial occupation.

Chronic lung disease may, in fact, turn out to be a far worse killer of miners than accidents. The U.S. Public Health Service, in unfinished research that is 25 years behind completed medical findings in British mines, has recently documented that coal dust—not the rock dust associated for decades with miners' silicosis—has become perhaps the pre-eminent threat to survival in the mines.

A prevalence study completed in 1965 found that, conservatively, 100,000 active and retired American coal miners suffered from the progressive, gasping breathlessness associated with prolonged inhalation of fine coal dust, a condition known (from autopsy observation) as "black lung" or pneumoconiosis. The U.M.W. estimates that in the 20 years that electric mining machines have been churning up greater and greater clouds of dust at least one million men have been exposed to an occupational disease whose ravages do not stop with removal to a dust-free environment.

The black-lung hazard—as the coal industry and physicians in its employ constantly point out—is as yet a qualitatively and quantitatively uncertain threat to life. It is real enough, however, to have caused more than 30,000 West Virginia miners, normally among the last in the industry to engage in wildcat strikes, to walk off their jobs for three weeks in February of this year to demand that the State Legislature include black lung in the list of injuries and diseases for which disabled miners are eligible to collect workmen's compensation benefits. Until then, only three coal-producing states—Alabama, Virginia and Pennsylvania—authorized workmen's compensation payments (generally financed by the industry) to black-lung victims, and only Pennsylvania has paid any claims. (In Pennsylvania, the benefits are paid for by the taxpayers, not the industry, which may explain how the legislation survived there. Coal has a history of very aggressive lobbying to protect its economic interest.)

In West Virginia's Statehouse last month, a doctor testifying in support of the industry's proposal of further medical studies of black lung before changing the compensation law "in haste," charged that Drs. I. E. Buff, Donald L. Rasmussen and Hawey Wells, the three crusading physicians in that state who had galvanized the miners to strike for health reform, had done more damage as "alarmists" than the disease itself. There was nothing more pathetic, the lachrymose industry witness testified, than a coal miner told to quit the only work he knows just because he is a little breathless. It was a Dickensian performance.

The coal operators, or some of them, have taken the position that pneumoconiosis does not exist. But sudden violence in the mines has been documented monotonously since Black Heath. Last year, alone, 309 miners died in accidents—"needlessly," according to O'Leary, the new and aggressively safety-conscious director of the Bureau of Mines—and miners' death and injury rates, already the highest of any industry, are on the rise this year.

The injury severity rate in mines, also the highest, is two and a half times that of lumbering, nearly four times that of trucking. Since records of nonfatal accidents began to be archived in 1930, the number of men temporarily or permanently disabled digging coal has risen to 1.5 million. Today, a miner sur-

viving a lifetime in coal (and there is one chance in 12 that he will not) can expect three or four lost-time injuries, not counting one chance in 5 or 10 of serious and eventually fatal lung disease.

Mining, like prostitution, is one of the oldest occupations in the world and is probably as impossible to stop. From the beginning, coal has been a curse on the land from whence it came, blighting the landscape with strip mines and culm banks and polluted streams, extracting for absentee owners vast fortunes from Appalachian states that are today synonymous with poverty, and plunging generations into despair.

But the scandal of gratuitous death and injury in the mines—almost all of it recognized, as the Interior Department report put it recently, as the result of the operators' "tendency to cut safety corners when profits are low and ignore good safety practices when profits are high"—has finally reached the point at which a Republican Administration in Washington is talking about limiting coal production to save lives.

In testimony this month supporting the sudden rush of mine-safety bills in Congress following the explosion at Farmington, this radical notion was put forth by none other than Secretary of the Interior Walter J. Hickel. "It is clear that our society can no longer tolerate the cost in human life and human misery that is exacted in the mining of this essential fuel," Hickel said. "Unless we find ways to eliminate that intolerable cost, we must inevitably limit our mining of coal, which has an almost inexhaustible potential for industrial, economic and social good."

Republican coal barons must have rolled in their graves. Even from Democratic Administrations, this most destructive of industries had never received such a radical warning. In fact, Democrats in Congress have been the protectors of the industry's economic interests over the survival interests of its workers.

In 1941, at the end of three decades during which miners died at an average rate of better than 2,000 a year, a series of terrible disasters which had killed 276 men during the closing months of 1940 finally forced passage of the so-called Coal Mine Inspection and Investigation Act. It was conceded, as the Bureau of Mines timidly put it then, that "speed of operation and demand for maximum tonnage at a minimum cost resulted in a neglect of ordinary safety measures."

In 1941, when technology in the United States had advanced to the threshold of the atomic era, the gross and calculated neglect of ordinary prudence in the powder-house atmosphere of coal mines was evidenced by the fact that barely half the underground coal miners had been equipped with battery-powered electric cap lamps, approved by the Bureau of Mines for the absence of spark hazards. Incredibly, the rest still wore carbide lamps, which gave their light by generating acetylene gas and emitting an open, two-inch jet of flame.

In 1941, half the mines still used unstable black powder for blasting rather than the safer "permissible" explosives recommended for 30 years by the bureau. The carbide lamps were handy for lighting fuses. Some mines had advanced to the employment of "shot friers," solitary men whose job was to shoot down the drilled coal after everyone else had left the mine. It was a concession to modernity. If the mine blew up, only one man was lost.

Everyone knew that disasters could be stopped. "In view of the present knowledge of preventing explosions, disasters are inexcusable and discredit the mining industry," the Bureau of Mines said in 1940. Everyone knew that more improvements in the feeble state mining laws were being blocked than passed. But Congress heeded the industry's states' rights argument. The 1941 act gave the Bureau of Mines for the first

time authority to enter and inspect mines and write reports containing noncompulsory safety recommendations, but no powers of enforcement. The states would take care of that.

Since 1910, when the Bureau of Mines was established, its engineers have been testing and recommending to the industry as approved or disapproved—as "permissible" or "nonpermissible" (words that convey more authority than the bureau had then or has today to require their use)—a whole range of mining equipment, including explosives and electric wiring, lights, drills, cutting machines and haulage devices. Such safety-designed machinery is obviously the key to disaster prevention in mines full of a mixture of inflammable methane gas and explosive coal dust.

Yet, nearly half the explosions—835 miners dead—between May, 1941, when the bureau got its authority to inspect and recommend, and July, 1952, when Congress next amended the mine-safety law, were caused by electric arcs from nonpermissible mine machinery. Most of the rest involved nonpermissible—but still not illegal—use of explosives.

Unbelievably, when the misnamed Federal Coal Mine Safety Act of 1952 finally emerged from the coal lobby's permissible cutting machine, it contained a "grandfather clause" which allowed the indefinitely continued use of knowingly dangerous nonpermissible electrical machinery "if, before the effective date of this section, . . . the operator of such mine owned such equipment . . . or had ordered such equipment." The law also set up two classes of mines—gassy and nongassy—and it stretched the loophole for nonpermissible equipment even further for the 85 per cent of mine owners lucky enough to meet the nongassy standard.

In effect, Congress told the mine operators that "if you were creating an avoidable explosion hazard before we passed this law, it's all right to go on doing so until the dangerous machinery wears out." Today, this means that spark-hazard machines—some of them rebuilt twice and three times over under the same serial numbers—are still in use in some mines 17 years after the law was passed. A count by the Bureau of Mines in 1967, when the law had been on the books 15 years, showed 1,117 pieces of nonpermissible electrical equipment in use in 159 mines.

The 1952 mine-safety act may have been one of the great legislative mirages of all time. It specifically exempted small mines, those with fewer than 15 employees. Although the small mines were depicted in the industry's testimony as to inefficient and limited in capital resources to bear the cost of retooling for the most basic disaster prevention, their number immediately doubled after the law was passed. Large mines were simply separated into smaller units to evade the law. (In 1966, the small mines were finally brought in—with all "grandfather clauses" still intact.)

Moreover, the law was deliberately written to apply to, and to give Federal mine inspectors jurisdiction over, only certain kinds of "major disasters"—defined by Congress as those killing five or more miners in one stroke. More than 90 per cent of mine deaths then occurred in lonely ones, twos and threes. Far more than half were caused by rock falls from the mine roof, largely at the working face. The 1952 law established roof-control standards, but only for established tunnels used as haulageways where such accidents were least common.

Having extended Federal safety jurisdiction to the kinds of "major disasters" that made the news wires and brought discrediting publicity, Congress emphasized that the new law was not to protect the miners from "the lack of, or inadequacy of, guards or protective devices." It was totally silent on hazards to health.

In signing the act into law, former Presi-



dent Truman obviously did not overstate the facts in observing that "I consider it my duty to point out its defects so that the public will not be misled into believing that this is a broad-gauge accident-prevention measure . . . I am advised that loopholes in the law were provided to avoid any economic impact on the coal-mining industry."

Congress has considered mine-safety legislation only three times in the last three decades. But in the years between enactments, there was activity. In 1962, after explosions in the Robena and Compass mines had killed 59 men, President Kennedy commissioned a task force to review the situation. Its report concluded that the industry's continuing disregard of the most basic hazards to life and limb deserved Congressional attention. For one thing, the task force proposed to put a deadline—one year after enactment of an implementing amendment by Congress—on the nonpermissible machinery "grandfather clause." It also noted that Britain, producing only a fraction of the coal output of the United States, was spending more than twice as much on mine health research.

But then in a series of private conferences with Bureau of Mines and Interior Department officials, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, the union-negotiating arm of the coal industry, persuaded them to recommend to Congress a "grandfather clause" deadline of five years. Since Congress took no action on it, the B.C.O.A. had another opportunity last year to persuade the Bureau of Mines to propose an even further extension to ten years. The capitulation was so flagrant that the White House, overseeing the draftsmanship of the 1968 mine-safety bill, demanded its exclusion from the bill, which went up to Congress in September. It died without hearings.

Other capitulations to the industry have perpetuated the Bureau of Mine's reputation as the submissive captive of the industry it is supposed to police. As recently as a year ago, a long-proposed revision of the 1952 law specifically requiring diversion of a minimum flow of dust-and gas-diluting forced air ventilation to the working face of coal mines—a point beyond the last moving air current in the established workings—was dropped by the bureau upon the B.C.O.A.'s complaint that it would be too costly.

It has been known for years that progressive contamination of mine ventilation air—a pickup of dangerous amounts of methane or coal dust, or both—results from coursing air from one working section of a mine to another before routing it to the surface. The practice is known to have caused explosions and deaths. Yet a year ago the B.C.O.A. was still dickering privately with the bureau, demanding language in the bureau's proposals for tougher mine ventilation standards which would say that if it cost too much to provide a separate "split" of air to each active working place it would not be required until after "a reasonable time"—not, of course, defined.

It is not that any of these proposals were new. The industry could claim no element of surprise—except at the idea of being compelled to adopt them after so long a history of lethal *laissez-faire*. Mine technology has been equal to all of these proposed measures for at least all of this century—for 101,000 mine deaths.

The inclusive almanac of mine disasters published by the Bureau of Mines in 1960 (it is now out of print) says that the violently explosive and unpredictable characteristics of suspended coal dust in mines were known as long ago as 1886. A team of mining engineers which visited all the major coal-fields in 1908, a year after the worst mine explosion in American history had killed 362 men at Monongah, W. Va., published a detailed report identifying every source of all the subsequent mine disasters (72,501 deaths from 1909 through 1968) and recommending

disaster-prevention standards which are still not observed.

While lobbying privily against safety, the industry has publicly promoted the idea that the death and mutilation of its workers was a cost of doing business. It got a depletion allowance on its taxes. Its workers got none for their depletion. The industry reaction to disaster was in the brave tradition of "what can you expect in an inherently risky business"—and with some of the most effective lobbying in legislative history to perpetuate the trade-off of cheap life for cheap coal. And it has not been alone.

Even on the left in this medieval atmosphere, the miners' union, the United Mine Workers of America, has been so concerned with helping the industry survive its post-war slump and with preserving coal's low-cost competitive advantage over other basic fuels—oil, natural gas and nuclear energy—that it long ago sacrificed what could have been the leadership of a mine-safety crusade for high wages, mechanized high production, and the highest accident rate of any industry.

Some of the accidents were no accident. In 1947, the U.M.W. in Illinois was found to have voluntarily signed a labor contract with coal operators in that state whose terms forbade the union from seeking improvements in Illinois' mine-safety law, upon which the industry placed such store in opposing greater Federal control. The Federal law of 1941, then in effect, was no threat to the cheapest production economies; the 1941 act had been so considerate of the industry's faith in state regulation that Federal mine inspectors were denied enforcement powers.

Since 1946, moreover, the U.M.W. had become locked in an embrace with the operators nationally. Through the 1946 coal labor contract, which set up the U.M.W. Welfare and Retirement Fund and financed it by an industry royalty—now 40 cents a ton for all coal taken out of union mines—the U.M.W. also acquired an immense interest in production. The Welfare and Retirement Fund collects income from operating mines, not from those harried by mine inspectors or closed down for safety violations.

The U.M.W.'s obvious conflicts of interest are a legacy of John L. Lewis, the 89-year-old former president. Lewis's postwar decision to help the coal industry survive by sacrificing 400,000 miners' jobs to mechanization in return for the company royalties was regarded then as a modernizing act of industrial statesmanship. But it established alliances that obviously are not in the best interests—on mine safety, if nothing else—of the rank-and-file membership. For example, under Lewis the U.M.W. bought control of the National Bank of Washington, a profitable sideline that has furthered the appearance, if not the fact, of shared interests by making loans to coal companies.

Since Congress was no help, in 1946 the Interior Department, which was then operating the mines under President Truman's strike-induced Federal seizure order, negotiated with the unions (as a condition in the contract) safety standards unobtainable by other means. Compliance with the contract's so-called Mine Safety Code, which incorporates many of the reforms talked about since the early nineteen-hundreds is monitored by Federal mine inspectors. But its enforcement depends on the union, through its contractual right to withdraw men from mines in violation of the code.

Compliance, according to Bureau of Mines Director O'Leary, "leaves much to be desired." The compliance average in 20 of the largest mines is 65 per cent, O'Leary has told Congressional committees, but in some states (depending on coal operator attitudes and union militance) it is as low as 30 per cent and in one state as low as 7 per cent. The U.M.W.'s "safety division" at its headquarters in Washington consists of one man.

The Welfare and Retirement Fund is not the only loser when the men walk out of an unsafe mine. The miners lose wages. When I

asked him several months ago whether the U.M.W. had considered negotiating with the companies a requirement that they pay regular wages to men who left a shift while demonstrable code violations were corrected, the U.M.W.'s Boyle, a slight, normally combative Irishman from Montana, told me that would be impossible because even among miners there were "lazy men"; there would be abuses to get pay for no work. Later, in a safety proposal prepared by the U.M.W., the union finally supported the idea that miners should be paid for time off the job if a Federal inspector closed a mine.

But more than any other witnesses on this year's crop of catch-up mine-safety bills, Boyle has agreed with the industry's position. On the proposed revision that Secretary Hickel and O'Leary have called the reform of "paramount importance," Boyle's stand is significantly less reformist than the industry's. In view of the miserable record of Congressional inaction and protection of the industry, the Administration this year is asking Congress to give the Secretary of the Interior the flexibility of administrative rule-making authority. After hearings, he would establish the safety standards. There would be the right of appeal. It is the system in use since 1938 in nearly every other area of Federal regulatory activity, and the coal industry now says it will go along with it if the Secretary's authority is suitably circumscribed to prevent "arbitrary" decisions. Boyle, however, has said he "would rather take our chances with Congress."

Those chances this year are very good indeed, partly because Boyle himself has underlined the unequal forces working for mine safety in the private sector. The U.M.W. is clearly embarrassed by the reformist zeal of what it calls "Johnny-come-lately experts" since Farmington, like Udall, Ralph Nader and Representative Ken Hechler of West Virginia. For suggesting that the union bears some responsibility and that it has compromised and "snuggled up to" management on safety issues, the U.M.W. Journal recently labeled Nader and Hechler as "finks" in a front-page editorial. And the union magazine has engaged in such a Mao Tse-tung glorification of Boyle and his record as a safety crusader—it refers to him as a "union chieftain"—that the U.M.W. has become an embarrassment to its friends in Congress. While fulminating at the charges of collaboration with the industry, the Journal has not reported that weeks before the Consol disaster, the U.M.W. was convicted along with the Consolidation Coal Company in a Federal court in Lexington, Ky., of conspiring to create a monopoly in the soft coal industry. With the conviction, which is being appealed, went a \$7,300,000 damage award, to be paid half by the union and half by the company that Boyle has praised for "cooperation." The case involved Consol's alleged withdrawal of coal marketing services from South-East Coal Company after the company went non-union.

Moreover the coal industry can hardly cry poor this year. Because of its secure grip on a growing share—now more than half—of the fuel market in the surging electric utility business, even the National Coal Association is calling the future "glittering." It turns out that local boosters who, through depression upon depression, have been calling the state of West Virginia "The Billion Dollar Coal Field" were not far from wrong.

As Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr. of New Jersey noted in starting mine-safety hearings, coal has become so profitable that since 1966 the three largest coal producers have been taken over by other giant mineral corporations—Peabody Coal Company by Kennecott Copper, Consolidation by Continental Oil Company, and Island Creek Coal Company by Occidental Oil. According to the National Coal Association, the list of oil corporations that have acquired coal-mining companies now includes at least

20 of the major petroleum producers—Gulf, Shell, Humble, Standard of Ohio, Atlantic-Richfield, Sun, Ashland and Kerr-McGee among them. It was a relief to know, Senator Williams noted, that the safety hearings would not be "complicated" by the usual coal claims of imminent bankruptcy. To the oil owners of coal, Williams pointedly observed that the spectacle of oil-well pollution of the Pacific Ocean off Santa Barbara, Calif., and new evidence of "lung pollution" in the mines "may be trying to tell us something." "In both cases," he said, "we find at the top of the ownership structure big oil companies."

Whether or not by corporate edict from these powerful new coal owners, the fact is that the National Coal Association, the largest industry group, is taking a remarkably calm and even welcoming view of the strenuous safety legislation before Congress this year. By enacting the Nixon Administration bill, which is among the strongest of the lot, Congress could close all the old loopholes at once and take—for coal—a daring new step into industrial human ecology. The Nixon bill would require mine operators to attack the black-lung epidemic among miners by reducing coal dust contamination in mine air to 4.5 milligrams of respirable dust per cubic meter of air, as a starter. The standard is a compromise of the U.S. Public Health Service's 1968 recommendation—3 milligrams. It would become effective six months after passage of the law and could be lowered later by decision of the Secretary of the Interior. The dust-control problem is publicly pictured as a cost nightmare by the industry. The Bureau of Mines estimates that the cost will be only pennies per ton.

The economics of mine safety are the one great unknown in this year's reform spree. No one knows what the cost of a century of neglect has been. Lee White, the chairman of the Federal Power Commission, which regulates wholesale electric power rates, opened the door a crack during Secretary Udall's post-Farmington *mea culpa* last December by observing that, as a nation, we have lost money as well as life in the mines, "and we must pay." The F.P.C. is anxious to pass on to consumers "all savings in costs that are properly made," White said. But if it takes an increase in the cost of electricity to indemnify the miners who dig the coal for steam-electric power, "I believe the American people are willing and should be willing to pay that extra case . . . For all I know, we are not talking about increased rates but only a smaller decrease in rates."

Some but not all of coal's new 20-year and 30-year contracts to supply the huge fuel demands of electric power contain escalator clauses, which would permit certain price increases to pay for safety. But a share-the-cost program may not be as easy to work out as White made it seem; one reason that the coal industry is so mercilessly cost-conscious has been the strong downward pressure on prices exerted by the electric utilities, including the Government's own Tennessee Valley Authority, the biggest of all coal consumers. The average value per ton of coal at the mine has dropped from \$4.99 in 1948 to \$4.62 last year.

It may be significant that John Corcoran, the president of Consol—a moderate man to start with, by coal industry standards, and one who has been deeply affected by the Farmington disaster—also is chairman of the National Coal Association and a director of the American Mining Association and the Bituminous Coal Association. The industry does seem to be speaking with a new voice. But the coal industry is still a very loose coalition of new humanists and old buccaneers. And as one of its publicists put it recently, "We are like any association—we reflect the lowest common denominator. We have a few members who think the world

is flat, so we have not publicly endorsed the use of globes."

#### TRIBUTE TO SERVICE OF APPALACHIAN COCHAIRMAN

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the man who has served as the Federal Cochairman of the Appalachian Regional Commission for the past 2 years, the Honorable Joe W. Fleming II, recently resigned, and I want to take this opportunity to commend his dedicated and exceptional service to the people of the 13-State Appalachian region.

He was appointed to the Federal co-chairmanship by President Johnson in February 1967, before his 30th birthday. Prior to the appointment, he had served as a special assistant to the Commission and had worked on Capitol Hill.

Mr. Fleming, who is more generally called "Pat" by his many friends, has exhibited unique insights into the needs and problems of the Appalachian area. He used imagination in seeking solutions to problems and meeting needs. He displayed unusual skills and diplomacy in exercising his function as the Federal Cochairman of the Commission.

As chairman of the ad hoc Committee on Appalachia for the Public Works Committee, I have just concluded hearings on extension and revision of the Appalachian Regional Development Act. It would have been encouraging to every Member of the House to have heard the testimony of the Governors, our fellow Members, and private citizens concerning the advances which are being made in Appalachia, and equally important, the unusual praise for the operation and function of the Commission. This was particularly refreshing at a time when critics seem plentiful for many Federal activities. The testimony indicates a total State endorsement of the concepts and implementation of the regional development approach which is proving so beneficial to the people of Appalachia.

The Federal Cochairman, as the representative of the Federal interest in the program, is due a large measure of credit for the success and excellent relationship evident with the various States.

In his relations with the Congress, Pat Fleming was always responsive to requests for information and assistance important in preparing legislation for the program. His cooperative attitude and constructive approach to problems made my work as chairman of the ad hoc committee less burdensome.

Pat Fleming is intelligent, knowledgeable, capable, and industrious. He has amply shown this in the discharge of his responsibilities as Federal Cochairman of the Appalachian Regional Development Commission. I commend him for his service. He has a bright future, and I wish him every success in the years ahead.

#### A NEW CREDIBILITY GAP

Mr. ADDABBO. Mr. Speaker, as the new administration faces its first hard decisions concerning our involvement in Vietnam, and recalls its magic plan mentioned during the presidential campaign, the administration should awaken

to the ever-mounting casualties in Southeast Asia and should reevaluate its no cease-fire decision while the diplomatic talks proceed in Paris.

At the same time, I am somewhat distressed by the discussion in the Congress about the imminent release of some \$30 billion now being spent in Southeast Asia. As a member of the House Committee on Appropriations, I know what could be done to meet the challenges at home if \$30 billion were suddenly made available for our domestic priorities. I also know that such talk misleads the American people. Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk in a recent statement pointed out that if we decided to withdraw all our troops from Vietnam tomorrow, it would take about 2 years to evacuate. In addition, billions of dollars worth of heavy equipment would remain in South Vietnam—not to mention economic aid to that Nation.

There are enough reasons to press for settlement of this war and to end the tragic death tolls, without holding out the unrealistic promise that \$30 billion will suddenly be available for domestic programs.

Those who mislead the American people on that score are simply creating a new credibility gap—a practice they have condemned in the past.

#### ENROLLED JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

Mr. FRIEDEL, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled a joint resolution of the House of the following title, which was thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H.J. Res. 584. Joint resolution making a supplemental appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1969, and for other purposes.

#### THE LATE HONORABLE DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

H. RES. 351

*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives has learned with profound regret and sorrow of the death of General of the Army Dwight David Eisenhower, beloved former President of the United States of America.

*Resolved*, That in recognition of the many virtues, public and private, of the illustrious soldier and statesman, and as a mark of respect to one who has held such eminent public stations, the Speaker shall appoint a committee of the House to join with such Members of the Senate as may be designated, to attend the funeral services of the former President.

*Resolved*, That the House tenders its deep sympathy to the members of the family of the former President in their sad bereavement.

*Resolved*, That the Sergeant at Arms of the House be authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary for carrying out the provisions of these resolutions, and that the necessary expenses in connection therewith be paid out of the contingent fund of the House.

*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and trans-



mit a copy of the same to the family of the deceased.

The resolutions were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints the Speaker and the entire membership of the House to attend the funeral services for former President Dwight D. Eisenhower this afternoon at the Washington National Cathedral.

Members' wives have also been invited to attend these services.

The Chair appoints as members of the committee on the part of the House to attend the funeral services in Abilene, Kans., the gentleman from Texas, Mr. FISHER, and the gentleman from Kansas, Mr. MIZE.

Transportation will be furnished to the cathedral this afternoon for Members and their wives and will also be available for the return to the Capitol at the completion of the services.

Buses will leave from New Jersey Avenue, between Independence Avenue and C Streets, promptly at 3:15 p.m. for the trip to the cathedral.

The Clerk will report the remaining resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

*Resolved*, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the former President, this House do now adjourn.

The resolution was agreed to.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 30 minutes p.m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, April 1, 1969, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

633. A communication from the Acting Director, Office of Economic Opportunity, Executive Office of the President, transmitting a report of an independent study and evaluation of the implementation of sections 210 and 211 of the 1967 amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act, pursuant to the provisions of section 233(c) of that act; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

634. A communication from the Assistant to the Commissioner of the District of Columbia, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend title 5 of the United States Code with respect to pay received by public school teachers of the District of Columbia for employment during the summer vacation period; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. ANDERSON of California:

H.R. 9674. A bill to authorize the U.S. Commissioner of Education to make grants to elementary and secondary schools and other educational institutions for the conduct of special educational programs and activities concerning the use of drugs and for other related educational purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 9675. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act so as to liberalize the conditions governing eligibility of blind per-

sons to receive disability insurance benefits thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BROOMFIELD:

H.R. 9676. A bill to amend title 18, United States Code, to prohibit the mailing of obscene matter to minors, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CELLER:

H.R. 9677. A bill to amend section 1866 of title 28, United States Code, prescribing the manner in which summonses for jury duty may be served; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FARBSTAIN:

H.R. 9678. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that the first \$5,000 received as civil service retirement annuity from the United States or any agency thereof shall be excluded from gross income; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FOREMAN:

H.R. 9679. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow teachers to deduct from gross income the expenses incurred in pursuing courses for academic credit and degrees at institutions of higher education and including certain travel; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FRASER:

H.R. 9680. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to liberalize both the minimum standard deduction and the percentage standard deduction, and to increase from \$600 to \$1,000 the personal income tax exemption of the taxpayer; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FRIEDEL (by request):

H.R. 9681. A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act, with respect to recovery of a reasonable attorney's fee in case of successful maintenance of an action for recovery of damages sustained in transportation of property; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mrs. GREEN of Oregon:

H.R. 9682. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase from \$600 to \$1,200 the personal income tax exemptions of a taxpayer (including the exemption for a spouse, the exemption for a dependent, and the additional exemptions for old age and blindness); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT:

H.R. 9683. A bill to repeal chapter 44 of title 18, United States Code (relating to firearms), to reenact the Federal Firearms Act, and to restore chapter 53 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 as in effect before its amendment by the Gun Control Act of 1968; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KARTH:

H.R. 9684. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase from \$600 to \$1,200 the personal income tax exemptions of a taxpayer (including the exemption for a spouse, the exemption for a dependent, and the additional exemptions for old age and blindness); to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McEWEN:

H.R. 9685. A bill to regulate imports of milk and dairy products, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. McMILLAN (by request):

H.R. 9686. A bill to provide public assistance to mass transit bus companies in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. MINSHALL:

H.R. 9687. A bill to amend section 3006A of title 18, United States Code, relating to representation of defendants who are financially unable to obtain an adequate defense in criminal cases in the courts of the United States; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 9688. A bill to extend benefits under section 8191 of title 5, United States Code, to law enforcement officers and firemen not em-

ployed by the United States who are killed or totally disabled in the line of duty; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. MURPHY of New York:

H.R. 9689. A bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to provide a full annuity for any individual (without regard to his age) who has completed 30 years of railroad service; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. PHILBIN:

H.R. 9690. A bill to expand the definition of deductible moving expenses incurred by an employee; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. RIEGLE:

H.R. 9691. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to increase certain personal income tax exemptions of a taxpayer (including spouses and dependents), to allow a credit against income tax to individuals for certain expenses incurred in providing and obtaining higher education, to expand the definition of deductible moving expenses incurred by employees, to protect funds invested in series E U.S. savings bonds, to provide a credit for certain single persons, to provide a deduction for transportation and personal exemption for disabled individuals, to repeal manufacturer's excise tax on passenger automobiles and trucks, to revise and improve the income tax treatment of senior Americans, to limit the maximum rate of percentage depletion, to provide an incentive for corporate investment in developing countries, to provide a tax credit for certain local residential and property taxes, to modify the capital gains treatment of property acquired from a decedent, and to repeal multiple-surtax exemptions; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. SCHERLE:

H.R. 9692. A bill to amend section 204(a) of the Coinage Act of 1965 in order to authorize mining of all new quarter-dollar pieces with a likeness of the late President Dwight David Eisenhower on one side; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. SIKES:

H.R. 9693. A bill to permit civilian employees of the United States employed outside of the United States to import certain firearms and ammunition purchased abroad; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin:

H.R. 9694. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow an incentive tax credit for a part of the cost of constructing or otherwise providing facilities for the control of water or air pollution, and to permit the amortization of such cost within a period of from 1 to 5 years; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GRAY:

H.J. Res. 611. A resolution authorizing the President to proclaim February of each year as "American History Month"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GRIFFIN:

H.J. Res. 612. A resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States requiring the advice and consent of the House of Representatives in the making of treaties; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.J. Res. 613. A resolution proposing an amendment of the Constitution of the United States to prevent interference with, and eliminate the limitations upon, the power of the States to regulate health, morals, education, domestic relations, all property rights, transportation wholly within their borders, the election laws, with the limitations contained in this proposed amendment, and good order therein; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. LONG of Maryland:

H.J. Res. 614. A resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the week of September 28, 1969, through October 4, 1969, as "National Adult-Youth Communications Week"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## MEMORIAL

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred, as follows:

97. By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the State of North Dakota, relative to regulation of outdoor advertising; to the Committee on Public Works.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred, as follows:

By Mr. ADDABBO:

H.R. 9695. A bill for the relief of Carmelo DiFiore; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BIAGGI:

H.R. 9696. A bill for the relief of Cirino Carrocetto; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 9697. A bill for the relief of Rita Del Grosso; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts:

H.R. 9698. A bill for the relief of Christos G. Pappas; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FLOWERS:

H.R. 9699. A bill for the relief of Catherine E. Spell; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HANNA:

H.R. 9700. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Jasmine T. Dillon; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of Rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

84. The SPEAKER presented a petition of Mrs. Katarzyna Zerucha, Oleszyce, Poland, relative to widow's social security benefits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Tuesday, April 1, 1969

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*He that giveth, let him do it with simplicity; he that ruleth with diligence; he that showeth mercy with cheerfulness.—Romans 12: 8.*

O God, our Father, in whose love is our life, in whose service is our strength, and in whose will is our work, grant unto us increasing power that we may labor unceasingly for the welfare of our country and the well-being of all mankind.

Save us from discord and disunity, from pride and prejudice, from vice and violence. Fashion us into a people united in purpose and program to promote justice, to proclaim freedom, and to provide food for the hungry, housing for the ill housed, and jobs for men who will work.

May the spirit of wisdom abide in all our hearts that we may make decisions daringly, plan procedures patiently, and live with love the light in our lives.

In times of trouble let not our faith in Thee falter and in periods of prosperity let our faith find its fulfillment in humble service and a grateful spirit.

In the name of Christ we pray. Amen.

## THE JOURNAL

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed a resolution of the following title:

S. RES. 175

*Resolved*, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Dwight David Eisenhower, the former President of the United States and General of the Army of the United States.

*Resolved*, That as a token of honor to his illustrious statesmanship, his leadership in national and world affairs, his distinguished public service to his Nation, and as a mark of respect to one who has held such eminent public station in life, the Senate hereby expresses its deep sensibility of the loss the Nation has sustained by his death, and its sympathy with the family in their bereavement.

*Resolved*, That the two Senators from Kansas be appointed by the President of the Senate to attend the funeral of the deceased, to be held at Abilene, Kansas.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate transmit these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

*Resolved*, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

## SWEARING IN OF A MEMBER

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman from Tennessee, Mr. EDWARD JONES, be permitted to take the oath of office today. His certificate of election has not arrived, but there is no contest, and no question has been raised with regard to his election.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

Mr. JONES of Tennessee appeared at the bar of the House and took the oath of office.

## RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE ARMY

(Mr. SIKES asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, a shocking proposal has been brought to light in Army plans to require chaplains to eliminate all reference to God and religious philosophy in lectures designed to instill moral responsibility in our soldiers. I would hope that the Army has a greater interest in God than it has in the protests of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Apparently the Army is bowing to complaints from the American Civil Liberties Union. Fortunately, Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird has ordered a high Pentagon review of Army plans and it is to be hoped that the plans will be dropped.

I find it extremely distasteful that the Army would feel a compulsion to bow to groups which object to religious teachings. The military services have an obligation to present inspiring programs of character guidance to members of the Armed Forces and this is particularly needful to the young men and women who first enter the service. Our Nation has a strong religious background and one of its principal strengths has been a firm faith in the Almighty.

I find myself completely out of patience with the Army proposal, and I have protested this action in strongest terms, both to the Army's Secretary and Chief of Staff and to Secretary Laird. America is not ready to give up religious teaching, either in or out of the Army.

## CONGRESS MUST ACT NOW TO INSURE HEALTH AND SAFETY IN THE MINES

(Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HECHLER of West Virginia. Mr. Speaker, it was announced today that a fiery blast of methane gas trapped 145 to 168 men in a Mexican coal mine, located 75 miles from Eagle Pass, Tex. It may take as long as 15 days to reach all of them.

Mr. Speaker, other coal mine disasters in this Nation will surely occur unless Congress acts quickly to pass effective legislation, and the attitude of the entire coal industry changes. Every day that passes risks the danger in this Nation of a new and major tragedy in this most dangerous of all occupations.

Lots of coal mine representatives today, and even Members of Congress, are talking about the economic impact of increased safety, and the burdens that protection of health and safety may place on the coal industry. They should be talking instead of the human impact on the human beings who work in the coal mines.

Even if we pass a good law, it will not do any good unless there is a genuine will to safety on the part of the coal industry, the United Mine Workers, and the American people.

Every day that passes 28 more people are injured in the mines. Since the Farmington tragedy, 60 underground coal miners have been killed. I say in the name of humanity it is time that Congress act, and the American people back up action to clean up the coal mines and protect the safety of those who work in the mines.

## GENERAL EISENHOWER'S NOBLEST CHARACTERISTIC WAS HUMILITY

(Mr. DANIEL of Virginia asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend